

OF THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF
THE AMERICAS

VOLUME I: NORTH AMERICA

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VOLUME III: SOUTH AMERICA

Edited by Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY
OF THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF
THE AMERICAS

VOLUME III

SOUTH AMERICA

PART 1

Edited by

Frank Salomon

*University of Wisconsin-
Madison*

Stuart B. Schwartz

Yale University



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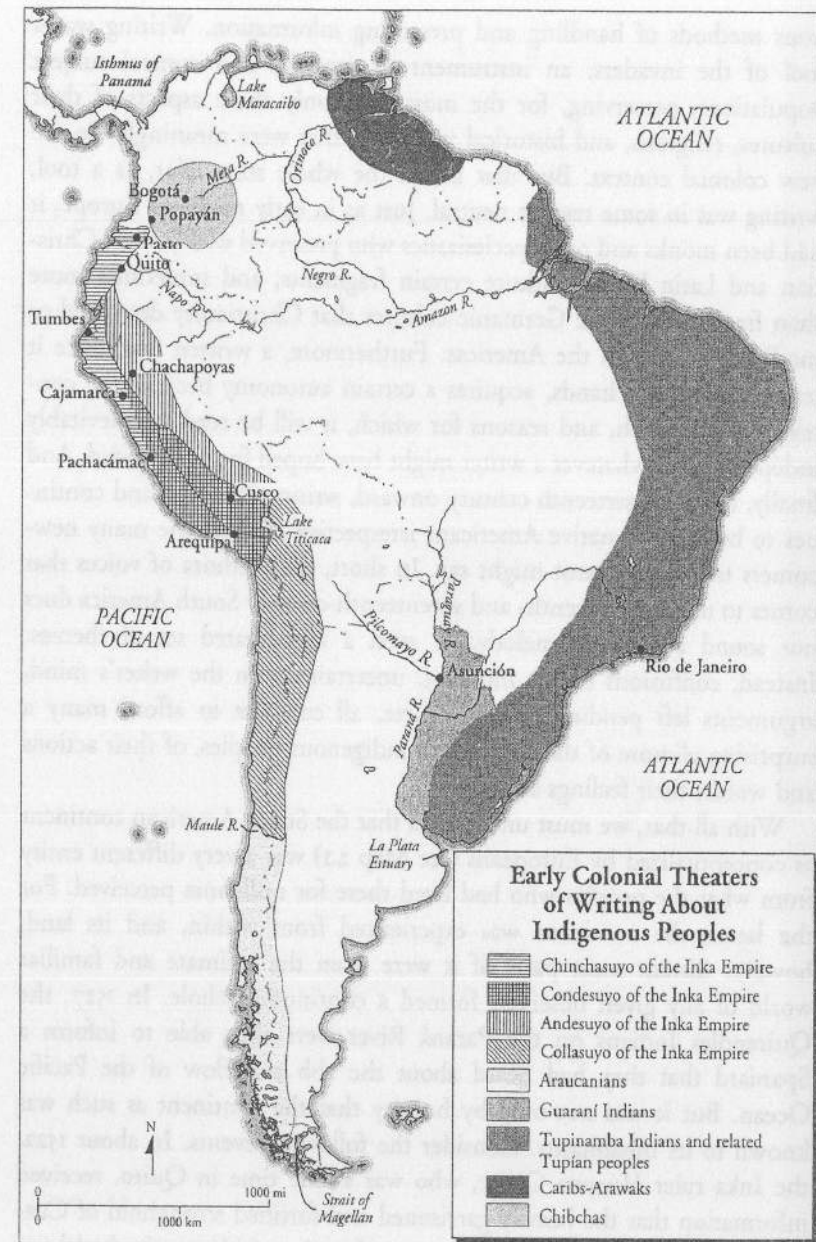
ETHNOGRAPHY IN SOUTH AMERICA: THE FIRST TWO HUNDRED YEARS

SABINE MACCORMACK

INTRODUCTION

The arrival of Europeans on the South American continent, and the wars of conquest and journeys of exploration that soon followed, occasioned much writing of diverse kinds. This chapter concerns the development of European ideas about "Indians," and some consequences of these ideas. Rough-hewn narratives by soldiers, fortune hunters, and explorers rub shoulders with historical works of sophistication and elegance. The Spanish crown issued administrative questionnaires about South American peoples, their religions, governments, and regional histories, and also about the continent's geography, fauna, and flora, thereby generating volumes of responses by colonial officials. Systematic lexical and grammatical studies of Amerindian languages written for and by missionaries can be supplemented by less learned but often valuable observations of a more casual nature. In addition, there are maps and itineraries, letters and lawsuits. Beyond all that, a voluminous literature soon came into existence in Europe to rearrange and reinterpret data found in eyewitnesses' original writings with a view to European tastes and predilections. And finally, there also exists a small but precious corpus of writings by Amerindians, recording how those who were at home on the continent perceived the destruction of much of their world and the transformation of what remained within the framework of foreign-created institutions.

Even so, however much we propose to focus on the cultures and histories of the native peoples of the Americas, it is impossible to get away from the productions of foreigners: Spaniards and Portuguese, Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, and Englishmen who wrote down their experiences of the newly discovered continent. Even as writing took place, writing supplanted, and as a result destroyed, alternative, indige-



Map 2.1

nous methods of handling and preserving information. Writing was a tool of the invaders, an instrument to organize and control subject populations, preserving, for the most part, only those aspects of their cultures, religions, and historical memories that were meaningful in the new colonial context. But that is not the whole story. For, as a tool, writing was in some respect neutral. Just as in early medieval Europe, it had been monks and other ecclesiastics who preserved within their Christian and Latin literary culture certain fragments, and sometimes more than fragments, of the Germanic cultures that Christianity destroyed or modified, so also in the Americas. Furthermore, a written text, once it leaves the writer's hands, acquires a certain autonomy because the contexts within which, and reasons for which, it will be read are inevitably independent of whatever a writer might have hoped for or intended. And finally, from the sixteenth century onward, writing has been and continues to be used by native Americans irrespective of what the many newcomers to the continent might say. In short, the plethora of voices that comes to us from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century South America does not sound a uniform melody, or even a coordinated set of themes. Instead, confusions of the moment, uncertainties in the writer's mind, arguments left pending or incomplete, all conspire to afford many a surprising glimpse of the continent's indigenous peoples, of their actions and words, their feelings and ideas.

With all that, we must understand that the South American continent as conceptualized by Europeans (see Map 2.1) was a very different entity from what the peoples who had lived there for millennia perceived. For the latter, the continent was experienced from within, and its land, however distant most parts of it were from the intimate and familiar world of any given observer, formed a continuous whole. In 1527, the Quirandíes Indians on the Paraná River were thus able to inform a Spaniard that they had heard about the ebb and flow of the Pacific Ocean. But it was not only by hearsay that the continent as such was known to its inhabitants. Consider the following events. In about 1522, the Inka ruler Huayna Cápac, who was at the time in Quito, received information that the heavily garrisoned and fortified stronghold of Cuzcotuyo in Charcas on the southeastern frontier of his empire had been captured by a nation whom the Inkas called Chiriguano. The Inka sent one of his captains with an army, and for the time being, the disaster was remedied. It was, however, no isolated occurrence, for in 1549 a group of 300 Indians from Brazil who belonged to a group that was

distantly related to the Chiriguano arrived in Chachapoyas in northeast Peru and told a story that caused considerable astonishment. They were the remnant of a host of some 12,000 persons who had set out ten years earlier under a religious leader who promised that at the end of their migration they would come to a land "of immortality and perpetual rest," a land without evil. By this time, the Portuguese were systematically occupying the Atlantic coast of Brazil and were organizing it into military and administrative districts, while the Inka empire was already in the course of being transformed into the Spanish viceroyalty of Peru. But the eastern slopes of the Andes, and the vast river valleys of the Amazon, the Orinoco, and the Río de la Plata with their many tributaries, remained largely inaccessible to Europeans. As a result, the long migrations, of which the destruction of the fortress of Cuzcotuyo and the arrival of the 300 "Brazilians" in Chachapoyas were distant reverberations, remained essentially unintelligible to them. By contrast Europeans, viewing the continent from the coasts inward, perceived it as novel and unitary. Also, they saw it not as lands that had been experienced over time and that could be traversed from one end to the other, but as lands capable of being rendered accessible only with difficulty and from a handful of heavily guarded sites, most of which were on the coast.

This reality is plain to see on all the early maps of South America, which provide much information about coastal regions and much less about the interior. Geographical expertise, or the absence of it, in turn conditioned what Europeans were able to learn about the people who inhabited the continent, how they came by their information, and how they organized it. Francisco López de Gómara, whose extremely influential and often-translated *History of the New World* was published in 1553, opened his work with a description of the coastlines of the Americas, beginning in the northeast with Greenland and Labrador, going to the Strait of Magellan and continuing northward along the Pacific coastline as far as California. Gómara collected this information from "the maps of the King's cosmographers" and used it as a framework within which to organize his history. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, author of a history of the Americas in fifty books that are a veritable treasure trove of important information of all kinds, also circumnavigated, as it were, the South American continent in his narrative. Here, a loosely organized order of events in rough chronological sequence follows first the Atlantic coast and then the Pacific coast of South America, with the Strait of Magellan serving as a geographical matrix. It was not until the mid-

seventeenth century that Lucas Fernández Piedrahita, born in Bogotá of a Spanish father and a noble lady of Inka descent, described the cultural and physical geography of South America, as seen from within the continent, as a lived reality. For it was only in this way that he could adequately inform the reader of the geographical whereabouts of his own native land, the New Kingdom of Granada, which is now Colombia.

In the sixteenth century, such a vision was not yet possible. Instead, the geographical criteria that Europeans brought to their descriptions of South America were reinforced by political ones that meshed with the continent's indigenous cultural geography only to a certain extent and incidentally. The Atlantic coast of Brazil from the Río de la Plata to the Amazon was dominated during the earlier sixteenth century by the Tupinamba and related peoples, who shared much culture and spoke reciprocally intelligible dialects of the same language, although they did not form a coherent or coordinated political unit. It was members of this group of societies who reached the Inka empire in about 1522, and Spanish Peru in 1549. According to the treaty of Tordesillas of the year 1494, which assigned newly discovered lands and lands yet to be discovered to either Spain or Portugal, most of the territories occupied by the Tupinamba group and its peers fell to the Portuguese, whereas the Inka empire, Venezuela, the Guianas, and the Amazon Basin fell to Spain. Excepting the Inka empire, the information that Europeans gathered about South America during the sixteenth century came for the most part either from coastal regions or from river valleys, where the European hold tended to be strongest. In 1552, for example, a French Calvinist mission was sent to Brazil, and one of its members, Jean de Léry, wrote an account of the Tupinamba near Rio de Janeiro, among whom he spent some time. Another French mission, this one Catholic, was sent in the early seventeenth century to the Tupinamba on the Maranhão island in the mouth of the Amazon, and Claude d'Abbéville and Yves d'Évreux, who were members of the mission, produced further descriptions of this different group of the Tupinamba. Between 1541 and 1544, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca penetrated some 1,500 miles up the Paraguay river. Both Cabeza de Vaca and the German Ulrich Schmidel, who traversed part of a similar route between 1536 and 1552, were able to learn a surprising amount about the Indians whom they encountered. Another traveler who followed a river system, that of the Orinoco, was Sir Walter Raleigh, whose *Discoverie of the . . . empyre of Guiana*, published in 1596, describes his journey. There are also, for the sixteenth

century, descriptions of the Amazon valley, which mention, all too briefly, the Indian societies that were encountered. All these journeys were motivated by plans of conquest, hopes of exploiting natural resources, or the search for precious metals. At the same time, however, human curiosity about the indigenous world on occasion displaced the tale of domination or acquisition from center stage.

Many of the early ethnographic works about South America were written by Spaniards. Unlike the Portuguese, most of whom were not greatly interested in the peoples of South America, a good many Spaniards, officials, and soldiers, men of significant learning as well as those who had no learning at all, proved eager observers and found much to say about the indigenous world that they encountered.

The ideas and preconceptions that these Spaniards brought to their observations, and that framed their observations in the first place, therefore constitute a fundamental component in what can now be learned about South America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some Spaniards who fought in the Americas had earlier fought in Italy, and some of their fathers or grandfathers had participated in the conquest of Granada. Warfare was a part of their expected daily experience. They knew how to appreciate endurance and bravery, even if it was the bravery of their enemies. They had a sharp eye for the workings of different structures of command, and they were deeply interested in different forms of religious observance. Finally, they were acutely aware of questions of comportment, of honor and shame, and, thinking of these as visible via the body, were able to describe a person's physical appearance and physical presence even without the mediation of a shared language. It was from observations accumulated around themes such as these that over the decades, a body of information integrated perceptions of the different populations of South America into cognitive structures developed in Europe. Questions that had first been asked in Europe about Muslims and Jews, Greeks, Turks and Italians were asked again in new cultural contexts where they did not necessarily apply the same way they had earlier.

Meanwhile, both South America and Europe changed, and these changes in turn affected what Europeans were able to learn in South America. The absence in South America of clearly marked linear frontiers, such as were coming into existence in Europe at this time, heightened the fluid, generalized nature of much of the information that Europeans gathered. Frequently, adventurers or missionaries who were

traveling beyond the well-trodden routes of the coast or the roads of the Inka empire barely knew where they were.

BRAZIL AND THE GUARANI

In 1500, a Portuguese fleet bound for India made an unplanned landfall in northeastern Brazil. The crews were greeted on the shore by a group of Indians who appear to have been Tupinamba. For over a week, Indians and Portuguese consorted with each other by resorting to sign language, all the while observing every detail of each other's behavior. Here, so it seemed to Pedro Vaz de Caminha, who described these encounters in a letter to King Manuel of Portugal, were people who were as innocent as Adam before the Fall and blissfully free from sexual self-consciousness. Men and women alike walked about naked wearing only red and black body paint and adornments of feathers and string, feeling no shame whatsoever. In addition, they apparently performed no agricultural labor, kept no domestic animals, and followed no discernible form of worship or idolatry. In short, their existence was as close as might be imagined to humankind's paradisaical origins.

For Europeans, the years preceding and following the voyages of Columbus were years of millennial expectations: Jerusalem might be reconquered from the Turks; Antichrist might come; a utopian paradisaical society might come into existence. This was why Vaz de Caminha, convinced that the Indians would be eager converts to Christianity, glimpsed in Brazil promise of a speedy realization of paradise recovered. The Portuguese would learn the Indians' language, and meanwhile, there were other forms of expression that transcended the limitations of words and sentences. One of the Indians, Vaz de Caminha thought, desired the captain's gold chain, and another liked a rosary of white beads, "but we did not wish to understand," writes Vaz de Caminha, "because we did not want to give them [the chain and rosary]." Some other objects, among them a cloth of feathers and European hats and shirts, did change hands. The Indians at first vomited the Portuguese food they were offered but later, sitting down side by side with the newcomers, became accustomed and swallowed it. Most important, because the Indians freely participated in the celebration of Mass, following and imitating every movement of the ceremony, the Portuguese thought that they in some way understood the ritual's meaning. For the moment, the complicated world of politics, of the exercise of power over persons and territories,

which had motivated the voyage that accidentally brought the Portuguese to Brazil, appeared to have been suspended. What Vaz de Caminha observed was individuals and human innocence. He did not consider questions of daily survival, social relations, or political organization as they affected the Indians whom he saw.

But survival, social relations, and political organization moved to center stage as soon as Europeans came to South America to stay, or to exploit its resources. The people whom the Inka called Chiriguano and who invaded their empire in about 1522 had been accompanied on their expedition by a Portuguese, Alejo García, who was hoping to capture the fabled Inka treasures of which some rumor had reached him. There followed other European attempts to travel northward from the estuary of the Río de la Plata and then from the fort and later city of Asunción, which was founded on the Paraguay River in 1537. These expeditions depended for their success on Indian support; sheer necessity led the invaders to observe the indigenous world in much greater detail. The first and most basic need of the European adventurers was for food, which they either stole or exchanged for trade goods, especially metal tools that they had brought with them. It was the invaders' need for food, and also for shelter, for assistance in finding their way, and for military support that conditioned and guided their perceptions of the indigenous world.

The principal suppliers of food and also of military support were the Guarani. They formed a continuous language group with the Tupinamba, who occupied much of the Atlantic coast of Brazil, and had recently come to dominate, in addition, the Río de la Plata estuary and the valleys of Paraná, Paraguay and Pilcomayo rivers. The Chiriguano with whom Alejo García had traveled were still another branch of this same group of peoples, which is why Cabeza de Vaca, who encountered some survivors of this expedition in 1541, included them among the Guarani. Another Spaniard who learned something about the Guarani was Luis Ramírez, a member of Sebastian Cabot's expeditionary force of Río de la Plata explorers in 1527. Ramírez was aware that the Guarani were akin to the Tupinamba, had come southward recently, and were widely feared, although on friendly terms with the Spanish.

They move about scattered throughout this land like corsairs, because they are at war with all these other nations. They are very treacherous and rule over a large expanse of this India, for their borders extend as far as the mountains. They exchange goods for metal that has been made into disks, ear ornaments

Not that nudity was equivalent to ignorance of the art of making textiles, for

their women weave large cotton shawls, very choice, like fine cloth from Arles, into which they work many kinds of figures, such as deer, ostriches [i.e. rheas], Indian sheep [i.e., llamas or guanacos] and all manner of other things that a woman might imagine. In such shawls they sleep when it is cold, or they sit on them and use them in whatever manner they see fit.³

As for the king of the Xarayes, Schmidel found him to be a deeply imposing personage, surrounded as he was by hunters, dancers, and musicians, while attendants cleaned his path and scattered flowers and herbs where he was to walk. At meal times, musicians played before the king, and at midday, he watched the most handsome dancers from among his people, both men and women, perform in his presence. In short, thought Schmidel, "he holds court, being the greatest lord in the land."

Cabeza de Vaca likewise witnessed some impressive displays of dignity and power, as when near Asunción, his force was joined by a group of Guaraní warriors. "It was a sight to behold, the order that they maintained, their warlike equipment, their arrows finely adorned with parrot feathers, their bows diversely painted . . . and their drums, trumpets and bugles." In accord with Guaraní custom, Cabeza de Vaca as leader of the expedition received from each Guaraní chief an artfully painted bow and an arrow from each of the Guaraní warriors, whereupon they all started on their march.

They proceeded in a squadron which was easily a league long, all with their parrot feather ornaments, and their bows and arrows; they went in the vanguard, and behind them went the governor Cabeza de Vaca with the horse, and then the Spanish infantry, with the baggage, and the Indians had their own baggage. In this way they marched until noon, when they rested under some great trees. Having eaten and rested there, they continued along the paths where the Indians who knew the land guided them . . . They continued marching . . . in a squadron and in good order, being some ten thousand men, which was a sight to behold, how they all went painted in red ochre and other colors, with so many white beads around their necks, and with plumes over their heads, and with their copper disks, which, when the sun was reflected in them, spread such a radiance that it was a marvel to see.⁴

³ This and the preceding quote are from Ulrich Schmidel, *Reise nach Süd-Amerika in den Jahren 1534 bis 1554 nach der Münchener Handschrift herausgegeben von Dr. Valentin Langmantel* (Tübingen, 1889), pp. 66 and 67.

⁴ Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Comentarios* (ed. R. Ferrando), p. 193

and hatchets; with these latter they cut down vegetation in order to sow their crops.¹

The crops of the Guaraní, these early travelers noted, consisted of maize, manioc roots, and different varieties of potatoes. They also gathered honey and raised ducks, chickens, and sometimes guanacos; inside their houses they kept large numbers of parrots, whose feathers were valued for personal adornment. The houses were built of wood, with thatched roofs, and were grouped in small settlements, each surrounded by a protective stockade. Other ethnic groups, like the Agaces, and the Yaporúes from the vicinity of Asunción, were nomadic hunters, whereas the Guaxarapos who lived on the Paraguay River near Itatín were transhumants. Between January and April, when the rivers flooded, transforming the entire region into lakes and swamps, the Guaxarapos took to their canoes. Cabeza de Vaca observed how in the center of each canoe

they put two or three loads of clay and make a hearth; which done, the Indian comes aboard with his wife, child and household, and they go with the current wherever they like, making a fire on the hearth for cooking and for warmth, and so they travel for four months of the year, going ashore on lands which remain dry, where they kill deer, tapirs and other wild animals.²

When the river banks became visible again, they returned to their houses and fisheries, "and they enjoy this good life, dancing and singing all day and all night," according to Cabeza de Vaca, "for they are people whose livelihood is assured."

Most Indians living in the Río de la Plata estuary and along the Paraná and Paraguay rivers wore no clothes that Europeans thought worthy of the name, but Europeans repeatedly commented on the diverse forms of personal adornment that they saw. According to the German Ulrich Schmidel, men among the Jêrus or Xarayes, apart from wearing ear and lip ornaments,

are painted in blue on their bodies from the top down to the knees, and it is just as if one were to paint trousers. The women are painted in a different manner, also in blue, from their breasts down to their private parts. The painting is most handsome, and it would be very difficult here in Germany to find a painter as highly skilled.

¹ Luis Ramirez, *Carta a su padre*, in José Toribio Medina, *El Veneciano Sebastian Caboto al servicio de España*, vol. 1 (Santiago de Chile, 1908), p. 449.

² Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Comentarios*, in ed. R. Ferrando, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Comentarios y Naufragios* (Madrid, 1984), p. 242.

Guides such as Cabeza de Vaca mentioned here were present in every expedition that Europeans undertook in South America. Indeed, without them, and without Indian interpreters, the European penetration of the continent would have been inconceivable. At the same time, these guides and interpreters afford a glimpse of relations among different societies, and of networks of communication that reached as far as the Inka frontiers and the Amazon Valley. Individuals who spoke Guaraní either as their mother tongue or as a second language are most frequently mentioned as translators in the European sources, and Guaraní appears to have been used as a *lingua franca* in the region of the Río de la Plata and the Paraguay. Some of the translators were prisoners of war who had learned a second language in captivity and were handed over to the Spanish along with items of food. Even without working as guides or translators in any formal sense, prisoners were useful sources of information to Indians and Spaniards alike. In addition, Cabeza de Vaca encountered a few Indians who had adopted Christianity, spoke some Spanish, and were known, to Spaniards at any rate, by a Christian name. Cabeza himself persuaded the nomadic Agaces to hand over some of their women to be taught Christianity in Spanish. On occasion, Spaniards learned to converse in an Indian language. Two Spaniards from Asunción, for example, had learned the language of the neighboring Guaycurú, who were hunter-gatherers at war with the Tapua Guaraní. Here, as on other occasions, Indians, in this instance the Tapua Guaraní, some of whom had become Christians, were able to exploit their friendship with the Spanish in order to pursue preexisting enmities. At times, the Spanish, to their own puzzlement, were simply treated like one further cultural group among many, as the following episode illustrates.

With the help of his Guaraní allies, Cabeza de Vaca had defeated the Guaycurú, and following his own principles as well as a recent law of Charles V, he set free the prisoners and made them the emperor's free subjects. But that was not the end of the story. As had been arranged, the Guaycurú warriors returned to Asunción with their dependents,

and about twenty men of their nation came before the governor Cabeza de Vaca, and in his presence sat down on one foot as is the custom among them, and said through their interpreter that they were leaders in their nation of the Guaycurúes, and that they and their forefathers had fought all the tribes of that land, and had always defeated and maltreated them, without being defeated and maltreated themselves. And that since now they had encountered men more

valiant than themselves, they were going to put themselves into their power to be their slaves, to serve the Spanish.⁵

Cabeza de Vaca understood this transaction to mean that in the knightly idiom with which he was familiar, the Guaycurú were offering their submission to Charles V of Spain. But this is not quite what was happening. As Europeans learned in greater detail later, when an Indian warrior had been captured, he in some sense lost his affiliation with his group and became a member of the conqueror's, which is just what the Guaycurú warriors thought had occurred. These warriors viewed the Spanish as a newly arrived social group whose members could simply be integrated into preexisting systems of personal and interethnic relationships. Such transactions were possible because, during these early contacts, the irreversible and destructive impact that accompanied the European passion for gold and the control of territory remained unforeseen by the leaders of indigenous societies. This passion, however, guided almost every step that the Europeans took.

Some 500 miles North of Asunción, emissaries of Cabeza de Vaca's expedition encountered a delegation from the king of the Xarayes whose dignified court had so deeply impressed Ulrich Schmidel. Seated in a hammock, and surrounded by some 300 elders, the king conversed with Cabeza de Vaca's men with the help of a Guaraní interpreter. As transpired in the conversations that followed, the Guaraní was a lonely survivor of an expedition which years earlier his people, the Guaraní of Itatín, had sent to "the land further ahead." The king of the Xarayes, whose name appeared to be Camire, had also received news of this land, although he thought that access to it was blocked by a periodically flooded region. At the same time, however, the king knew about the expedition of Alejo García that had actually reached this elusive region. Cabeza de Vaca's emissaries thus thought they were on the right track, all the more so because the Guaraní interpreter informed them that in the "land further ahead" there was a lake with a "house of the Sun" on an island, where "the Sun enclosed itself." Furthermore, the land contained much "yellow and white metal," and finally, so the Spaniards understood, there were villages of women warriors who on occasion consorted with men but only raised their girl children, returning the boys to their fathers.

⁵ Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Comentarios* (ed. R. Ferrando), pp. 204-205.

Fever and impassable swamps prevented the Spanish from reaching this land, but the fusion of Guaraní and Spanish mythic imaginations that contributed so much to European ethnographic speculation about the South American continent became that much more potent. Perhaps the Spanish misapplied the name Camire to the king of the Xarayes, because in other colonial sources, Candire is a name attributed to the ruler of the messianic land without evil. After all, this land was being sought not only by the Guaraní with whom Alejo García had traveled but also by the kinsfolk of the translator whom Cabeza de Vaca's Spaniards encountered, and by several other migrating groups of Guaraní and Tupinamba Indians. This land of millennial hope, where warfare and conflict would cease, was transformed by Europeans into a land of legendary wealth that would free individuals from the obligations of membership in political society in a quite different but equally unpromising way. Endowing this land with concrete existence, the German publisher Levinus Hulsius, who in 1599 printed a Latin translation of Ulrich Schmidel's account of his experiences, included in the book a map of South America, which includes the land "Camire" as a place one might actually reach. The map locates Camire west of the Paraná River, which in turn is represented flowing northward into a region of lakes and swamps that matches the description of the king of the Xarayes, and thence into the Amazon River. The Paraná's southern end, on the other hand, headed into the Río de la Plata in the manner that was by then very well understood.

While Candire was a South American name that could be attributed to a place Europeans had long dreamed about under many different names, the women warriors spoken of by the Guaraní translator among the Xarayes lent substance to an ancient story that was quite specific. This was the account, recurring in the myths, histories, and geographical treatises of classical antiquity from Homer onward, that somewhere near the edges of the known world lived a group of warlike women known as Amazons. Sixteenth-century Spaniards could learn from the *Primera Crónica General de España* of Alfonso X that these women had created a fully articulated political society raising only their girl children while the fathers raised the boys. To look for Amazons in an actual social and historical reality thus amounted to more than satisfying an ancient curiosity about possible but improbable methods of government. Rather, it meant thinking that the human world was somehow capable of attaining a completeness in which even an imaginary social order could come to

fruition. In a society like that of sixteenth-century Europe, which prized male heirs over girls, the women warriors who raised only girls constituted a reversal of the familiar order. Such reversals were frequently encountered in America. They appeared to be worthy of note because they seemed to correct features of European society, such as the subordination of women, which even at the time were on occasion viewed as flaws. Moreover, considerations of this kind were not altogether groundless, because concrete evidence to substantiate them did occasionally come to light. Cabeza de Vaca, for example, thought that the women of the Guaycurú enjoyed exceptional and exemplary privileges because they were permitted to exempt from death any of the captives their menfolk brought home. Such a captive would be accepted fully into their society. "For sure," concluded Cabeza de Vaca, "these women enjoy more freedom than our Lady Queen Isabel gave to the women of Spain."

What was at stake, however, was not merely the role of women in society but the larger question of how political and social authority was exercised in indigenous polities. Some nomadic groups like the Guaxarapos, whose free and easygoing river life Cabeza de Vaca regarded as enviable, appeared to have no chief at all. Other chiefs, whatever their ceremonial and military role might have been, were not obeyed in any way that Europeans found intelligible. Europeans were slow to understand both the internal traditions and the historical experience that defined relations between any given indigenous group and its leaders. The nature of political authority as exercised in South American societies remained opaque to most Europeans. As late as 1583, a Spaniard describing people living near Santiago del Estero in Tucumán thus noted succinctly, "they do have lords, but these lords are poorly obeyed." Political authority wielded in a fashion that Europeans found recognizable seemed to be the exception not the rule, which was why, when there did seem to exist some discernible sign of a hierarchy of power, it was at once noted. In this kind of world, ancient European myths and stories about reversals of the natural, social, and political order found a ready home, all the more so because they could merge with analogous indigenous myths.

THE TUPINAMBA

By the mid-seventeenth century, hardly a trace was left of the Tupinamba, whose sway had extended along the entire Atlantic coast of Brazil

and some considerable distance inland. Instead, Portuguese forts, settlements, and sugar plantations run by slaves brought from Africa covered the land that the Tupinamba had once occupied. But in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and indeed ever since, the Tupinamba have provided the outside world much food for thought.

In 1553, the German gunner Hans Staden, who was serving among the garrison of a Portuguese fort on Guanabara Bay, where Rio de Janeiro had recently been founded, was captured by the Tupinamba. After nine months of captivity, he managed to escape. His illustrated account of his experiences, published in 1557, was incorporated into the extremely influential compilation of diverse writings about the Americas that appeared in 1592 from the press of Theodore de Bry in Frankfurt. In 1554 and 1555, André Thévet, the French Franciscan friar and cosmographer, spent some time with the Tupinamba of the same region, and in 1557, the Calvinist missionary Jean de Léry did likewise. Their work also was excerpted in De Bry's compilation. By the time that Staden, Thévet, Léry, and the Jesuit missionaries who were working among the Tupinamba put pen to paper, the Indian world of South America was no longer the terra incognita that it had been to Vaz de Caminha. Rather, the publications of Amerigo Vespucci, of the Italian humanist Pedro Martir de Anglería, and of Antonio Pigafetta who chronicled Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe, and numerous other writings whether published or not, had produced in Europe a certain familiarity with the "new" continent. Much of what had been written was inevitably incomplete and in places misleading, but at the same time, a certain typology of themes had been established that led those who wrote about South America to order their materials in accord with these themes and readers' expectations. Thus, for example, Staden, having recounted his personal experiences in chronological order, concluded his work with a synthetic account of Tupinamba customs and material culture. An attentive reader of Schmidel and Cabeza de Vaca might have deduced the importance of ceremonies of greeting in the Tupí-Guaraní world. But Staden, Léry, and Thévet, all of whom had learned to communicate in the language of the Tupinamba to a greater or lesser extent, were specific and very articulate on this subject. In the early seventeenth century, two further French missionaries, Claude d'Abbeville and Yves D'Évreux, who worked among the Tupinamba in Maranhão, also learned the language and wrote in accord with that knowledge. Beyond language, certain further topics, mentioned

casually earlier, had by then become de rigueur: These included religion, nudity, and anthropophagy.

At the same time, by the mid-sixteenth century, the world of the Tupinamba was beginning to change profoundly thanks to the presence of Europeans paying for various kinds of Tupinamba labor with metal tools such as knives, hatchets, and scissors. Hans Staden observed how, using a stone wedge with a small stone cutting board, the Tupinamba trimmed their hair, achieving the finely chiseled effect that Jean de Léry reproduced in his illustrations. The availability of scissors completely changed the nature of this job. Staden also noted that Tupinamba craftsmen when attaching stone axheads to wooden handles were now, instead of following their own traditional design, imitating the European method of joining axheads made of metal to wooden handles. Only a few years earlier, Ulrich Schmidel had exchanged axes and knives from Nuremberg for four golden discs and some silver armlets without giving any further thought to the transaction. Tools were one thing, however, and clothes were quite another. Over the long term, Schmidel's idea that body paint could be viewed as a form of dress found no resonance in writings about Indians: Instead, what struck Europeans was that Indians felt no shame and did not want to wear any clothes, even if they were presented with them.

For Europeans, nudity raised a host of difficulties. The feeling of shame at being naked, they thought, was the consequence of Adam's sin, which is why the nudity of Indians reminded so many Europeans of paradise and the golden age, before sin had brought labor, pain, and death into the world. On the other hand, it was inconceivable that the Indians were exempt from the Fall, and thus their nakedness and obliviousness to the feeling of shame remained problematic. Léry accordingly gave a meticulously detailed description of the physical appearance of Tupinamba men and women, of the adornments they did wear, of body painting, of the incisions men made into their skins to denote mourning and the number of enemies they had killed, and of all other aspects of caring for the body. Like the Dominican missionary Bartolomé de las Casas, who was at this same time writing about the nudity of Indians in the Caribbean, Léry also stressed that the women's nudity did not provoke lust. Instead, it was the women of France with their "elaborate attire, paint, wigs, curled hair, great ruffs and infinity of trifles," who occasioned social ills that did not exist among the Tupinamba. Neverthe-

less, the issue of nudity could not be laid to rest. Thévet suggested that Tupinamba nudity was comparable to nudity in classical antiquity, although it was also true that "we do not read anywhere that nudity is willed and commanded by God." Yves D'Évreux compared the Tupinamba warrior's slashing of his skin to a similar custom of the ancient Israelites, prohibited in Deuteronomy and Leviticus, while Claude d'Abbeville returned to the core of the problem, which was the Tupinamba's apparent obliviousness to shame. He proposed two answers. First, he thought that the feeling of shame was a matter of custom, and that it was thanks to custom that the Tupinamba "experience no more surprise at seeing the entire body uncovered than we do at seeing a person's hand or face." And second, he addressed the wider issue of law.

Our first parents did not hide their nudity and felt no shame until their eyes were opened, that is, until they had knowledge of their sin and knew themselves to be despoiled of the beautiful cloak of original justice. For shame only arises from the knowledge that vice and sin are a deficiency, and knowledge of sin only arises from the knowledge of law. As Saint Paul says, "I do not know sin except by the law." Because the Tupinamba have never had knowledge of the law, they also cannot know that vice and sin are a deficiency, having had their eyes closed in the darkness of paganism.⁶

The "darkness of paganism" was another of the large issues that came to the forefront once Europeans gained a closer acquaintance with the people of the New World. At first glance, it seemed that the peoples of the Rio de la Plata and the Tupinamba had no religion at all, because they had no places of worship and no religious rituals that Europeans could discover. Increased familiarity, however, produced a different and much more complicated picture.

Over time, it became clear that there were indeed no places of worship to be found among the Tupinamba. In addition, they had no priesthood, did not offer sacrifice or prayer to any deity, and observed no sacred calendar or any equivalent to the Christian day of rest. They reckoned time by the moon but, it appeared, had no way of telling one year from another; at any rate, Europeans did not ask questions that led Tupinamba men and women to explain how they knew their own age. As a result, it seemed that the much quoted dictum of Cicero – that there was no nation so barbarous that it did not follow some religion – was quite

simply wrong. No sooner said, however, than Europeans began to have doubts about the absence of religion among the Tupinamba. For in effect, it appeared that the Tupinamba did have a concept of God. Jean de Léry thought that this concept focused on Toupan, who was in some sense identified with thunder. But the matter remained problematic, for when Léry attempted to convince his Tupinamba interlocutors that Toupan was indeed the Christian God who cared for all human beings, it became clear that the two concepts did not match:

We would say to the Tupinamba that we believed in a sole and sovereign God, Creator of the world. Hearing us hold forth on this subject, they would look at each other saying "The!" – their customary interjection of astonishment – and be struck with amazement. When they hear thunder, which they call Toupan, they are much afraid. Adapting ourselves to their crudeness, we would seize the occasion to say to them that this was the very God of whom we were speaking, who, to show his grandeur and power, made heavens and earth tremble. Their resolution and response was that since he frightened them in this way, he was good for nothing.⁷

Similarly, episodes of Tupinamba myth and certain aspects of their beliefs resonated with European ideas. The Tupinamba told of a flood in which only one couple, from whom they claimed to be descended, had survived. Also, they thought that they had been instructed in the arts of civilization by a teacher who had come to them from abroad and who had then left. The flood resonated with Noah's flood, and Jesuit missionaries among the Tupinamba and other Brazilian societies were inclined to think that the teacher was one of Christ's original apostles who had preached the gospel throughout all the world. In addition, the Tupinamba were afflicted by visions of fearful spirits, whom missionaries identified with the devil, while nonetheless being aware that the correspondences between their own ideas and those of the Indians were imperfect. Yves D'Évreux, for example, who in 1613–1614 worked among the Tupinamba who had recently migrated from Guanabara Bay to Maranhão in order to escape from Portuguese oppression, asked if the malignant spirits had plagued them in their old homes. The answer was no. This seemed to contradict the Christian idea that the devil was omnipresent.

Another component of true religion, in European eyes, was belief in

⁶ Claude d'Abbeville, *Histoire de la mission des pères Capucins en l'île Mangnan et terres circonvoisins* (Paris, 1614, ed. A. Métraux and Jacques Lafaye, Graz, 1963), p. 270.

⁷ Jean de Léry, *History of a voyage to the land of Brazil, otherwise called America*, translation and introduction by Janet Whatley (Berkeley, 1990), p. 134.

an immortal soul. Clearly the Tupinamba believed in an afterlife, when "the souls of those who have lived virtuously go off behind the high mountains where they dance in beautiful gardens with the souls of their forebears." Wicked souls, on the other hand, would go to a place of horror. Missionaries could only agree that this anticipation of reward and punishment in the next life corresponded to their own teaching. But here also there were tensions. The virtue that the Tupinamba most admired was that of the warrior, who avenged himself on his enemies by capturing and then eating them. Such virtue, moreover, was socially rewarded because a victorious warrior was honored among his fellow villagers by being allowed to add his fallen enemy's name to his own. Successful vengeance was thus spelled out not only in warfare but also in the daily life of Tupí villages.

The demands of reciprocal vengeance endowed the life of these villages with a predictable content that Europeans disrupted and changed. The Portuguese occupation of the coast of Brazil pushed Indians inland and occasioned several migrations of Tupinamba Indians in search of a land without evil. Increasingly, this meant a land without Portuguese. Furthermore, the presence in Indian villages of missionaries, representatives of an alien and ever more dominant culture, changed the fabric of Indian life bringing it more in line with what Europeans expected. Throughout the Americas, missionaries were among the most careful and attentive observers of indigenous cultures. But unlike modern anthropologists, they were not participant observers: Rather, they observed in order to bring about change, and increasingly, change went hand in hand with the use of force. When Thévet and Léry lived among the Tupinamba of Guanabara Bay, they were not in a position to convey the Christian message by violence. It was perhaps for this reason that Léry was so profoundly moved by the sheer strangeness of the Tupinamba, a strangeness that he could do little to modify. "During that year or so when I lived in their country," Léry wrote,

I took such care in observing them all, great and small, that even now it seems that I have them before my eyes, and I will forever have the idea and image of them in my mind. But their gestures and expressions are so completely different from ours, that it is difficult to represent them well by writing or by pictures.⁸

Elsewhere, Léry remembered listening to the Tupinamba sing. The occasion was the ceremony in which the *maraca* rattles that were used to

foretell outcomes of wars and the nature of harvests were endowed with a voice to prophesy. Initially, the collective singing, accompanied by ecstatic seizures and fainting, had frightened Léry. But then the quality of the singing changed and

I received in recompense such joy, hearing the measured harmonies of such a multitude, and especially in the cadence and refrain of the song, when at every verse all of them would let their voices trail, saying *Héu, heuauu, heuau, heuauu, heuau, heuau, oueh* – I stood there transported with delight. Whenever I remember it my heart trembles, and it seems their voices are still in my ears.⁹

Sixty years later, however, Claude d'Abbeville and Jean d'Évreux found themselves in a very different situation in Maranhão. With Tupinamba help, the French had constructed a trading settlement with a fort and chapel at São Luis in the expectation of maintaining a permanent presence in Brazil, so that their missionary endeavor was now reinforced with a certain degree of coercive power. Yves d'Évreux, observing that the Tupinamba believed in an afterlife, studied their funerary customs as an expression of this belief and of true religious feeling. Public mourning for a dead warrior was followed by a panegyric oration in which a chief or other respected personage recounted the noble deeds of the deceased. The warrior was placed in his grave in a seated position, surrounded with what he needed for his journey to the other world: flour, water, and meat, as well as his axes, his fishing hooks, his bow and arrows, and a fire in a small pit. Next,

they ask him to remember them to their fathers and grandfathers, their kinsfolk and friends who dance beyond the mountains of the Andes, where they believe they will all go after their death. Some individuals give him trade goods to take to their friends, and finally, everyone exhorts him to be courageous on his journey, and remind him not to let his fire go out, not to walk through enemy territory and not to forget his fishing hooks and axes after he has slept in a place. Then they cover him gently with earth, and remaining on the grave for a while, they weep bitterly in bidding him good bye. The women return frequently by day and night in order to weep on the grave and ask if he has already left.¹⁰

This journey of the dead about which Yves d'Évreux heard from his Tupí interlocutors was the direct counterpart to the journey that the living Tupinamba could and did make to the "land without evil." Indeed, just before d'Évreux arrived in Maranhão, a *page*, or shaman, had

⁹ Jean de Léry, *Voyage*, chapter 8, p. 67 (tr. Whatley).

¹⁰ Yves d'Évreux, *Voyage au Nord du Brésil fait en 1614*, with introduction and notes by Hélène Clautres (Paris, 1985), chapter 31.

⁸ Jean de Léry, *Voyages*, p. 67 (tr. Whatley).

led some followers toward the Amazon in search of this land. The difficulty for d'Évreux, however, was that the journey to the land without evil and the correspondingly concrete visualization of the journey of the dead did not match his own Christian concepts of the purpose of life and afterlife. He thus insisted that the dead be buried without grave goods in the Christian manner, in a Christian cemetery. This could only be achieved by resorting to a degree of coercion.

The Tupinamba were warlike people. The decision to go to war was often made by shamans who interpreted the voices of spirits speaking in the *maraca* rattles that every Tupí family owned. The dreams of individual warriors on the eve of a planned expedition were also relevant to the final decision about going to war or not. The primary reason for warfare was to avenge past wrongs, to bring prisoners back to the village, and to consume them according to an elaborate ritual procedure extending over several days. The prisoner's role was to conduct himself bravely, to defend himself to the very end, if possible by injuring his captors, and to know that his kinsfolk would in due course avenge him by capturing and eating those who had eaten him. As all the early observers noted, cannibalism was driven not by hunger but by the desire for vengeance. However, regardless of vengeance, Europeans found these doings hard to understand. The theologians and jurists of Salamanca, who were highly critical of the Spanish invasion and conquest of central and South America, conceded that war could justly be waged against cannibals in order to save the lives of the victims. But Europeans also learned that victims did not necessarily appreciate humanitarian intervention. A young slave told his French missionary master that, deprived of the chance to go to war with the great men of his country, he preferred to be dead:

When one is dead one no longer feels anything, whether they eat or do not eat, it is all the same to one who is dead. I would be grieved to die in my bed, not to die like a great man amidst dancing and drinking, not to avenge myself before dying on those who are about to eat me. Whenever I think that I am the son of a great man of my country, that my father was feared and that crowds gathered around him to listen to him when he went to the tribal meetings, but that now I am a slave and cannot, like great men's sons in our lands, paint my body and wear feathers on my head, my arms and ankles, I wish I were dead. In particular, when I ponder and remember that I was captured as a boy in my own land with my mother, and was taken to Comma where I saw my mother being killed and eaten, I can only regret my life, because I wanted to die with her who loved me tenderly.¹¹

¹¹ Yves d'Évreux, *Voyage*, pp. 71–72.

The gulf of self-perception and feeling that separated Indians and Europeans on this issue of eating one's enemy was profound. The Tupinamba captured Hans Staden, whom they viewed as a Portuguese, and hence as their enemy, in order to eat him. For nine months, watching his captors' every thought, word, and movement, he eluded his fate, meanwhile acquiring a reputation for possessing extraordinary powers. He was asked to pray to his God that a storm might pass, and it did so; he observed that the moon looked angry and threw a chief into a panic; he correctly predicted that another chief would not die of a disease that had struck his household, but meanwhile, Staden was treated as a prisoner in the usual fashion. "You are my bound beast," the women shouted; on another occasion, when Staden was forced to hop with his legs tied together, as was customary for a prisoner, people laughed, "There comes our meat, hopping along." Other prisoners were eaten, and Staden watched, reaching his own private version of extreme wretchedness: "I had become so callous by misery that I no longer felt it." At the same time, however, his very existence raised doubts among the Tupinamba as to the viability of eating captives. On one occasion, a storm arose after a prisoner had been eaten. Some people felt that had Staden not watched, the weather would have remained fine. On another occasion, the chieftain Quoniambec, whom Francois Thévet included in his *Portraits of Illustrious Men*, invited Staden to share a human leg: "I responded: 'An unreasoning animal does not devour its own kind. Ought one man, therefore, to devour another?' [Quoniambec] bit into the leg and then said, 'Jauware sche, a jaguar am I. It tastes good.'" Tupinamba men were named after wild animals and imitated the cries of those animals when hunting. Quoniambec's response to the foreigner thus contained a twofold thrust: On the one hand, he countered Staden's logic by denying its premise, and on the other, he produced the information that in his capacity of eating his enemy he was a jaguar, thereby affording a glimpse into Tupí perceptions of identity that for the rest remained deeply opaque to Europeans.

A person was received in a Tupinamba village in one of two ways: as a prisoner who came as "our meat, hopping along," or as a valued visitor for whom an elaborate ceremony of welcome was performed. Staden and Léry both captured an aspect of Tupinamba life that was utterly lost in Theodore de Bry's influential review of American Indian cultures: the deep ceremoniousness of village life, the deference paid by one individual to another. What de Bry read in and reproduced from the accounts of

Staden and others was perspectives on the lives and manners of savages, of people who lacked most forms of decorous human exchange. But this is not really what Staden, Léry, d'Abbeville, and d'Évreux or the Jesuit missionaries described. Rather, they were struck by the harmony of domestic and village life, by the complex courtesies with which the Tupí greeted their visitors, and by the formalities of verbal exchange that had to be observed in conducting a conversation. Tradition decreed that women should greet a visitor in tears. They should speak of the hardship of his journey, remember deceased friends, and praise the visitor's kindness in coming. Words of welcome from the head of household followed. His task was to enquire after the visitor's name and purposes and to offer refreshment, all of which Jean Léry found to be "quite contrary to our embraces, hugs, kisses and handclaps upon the arrival of our friends." At the same time, however, Europeans themselves belonged to ceremonious societies in which gestures conveyed meaning, and this in turn rendered the gestures of the Tupinamba and others meaningful and intelligible. Furthermore, the Bible and the texts of classical antiquity spoke repeatedly about ceremonious actions that served as illuminating parallels and precedents for American analogs.

There was, however, one difficulty in the functioning of these parallels. Much of European ceremony, both past and present, served to establish and express hierarchy. Bending the knee and uncovering the head in worship or homage, or kissing a person's hand as an expression of respect conveyed subordination. Wearing tokens of power, such as crown and scepter, armor and rare clothing, communicated the superiority of the bearer in relation to the rest. But in the societies that Europeans encountered in the Río de la Plata and in Brazil, ceremonious expression rarely if ever served to articulate rank and hierarchy of this kind. Indeed, according to a frequently repeated refrain, the Indians of Brazil and many other parts of South America quite simply lacked any concept of law and authority.

There were palpable reasons for such an opinion. Children, so it seemed, grew up without formal education, and without chastisement. Private quarrels were rare, but if two individuals did come to blows, people would watch without intervening, and only when the fight was over would they assist in mediating a settlement for the offended party. Such a settlement followed no elaborate juridical principles but simply applied the law of retaliation. Most villages had more than one chief, but Europeans found it impossible to ascertain what precisely their pow-

ers were. Indeed, among the Indians of the Paraguay River, it was sometimes difficult for the Spaniards who were fighting in the region to learn who was the chief. Ulrich Schmidel went out of his way to point out that the Mbaya Indians had vassals who obeyed and served them in the same way that "here in Germany peasants are subject to a nobleman." This was, however, an exceptional situation. What Europeans usually noticed was a general absence of subordination and constraint of any kind. Frequently, this absence was perceived by Europeans as a deficiency, the conclusion being that with regard to political order as also in other respects, the Indians remained at a phase of development that the "polished nations" of Europe had transcended centuries ago. On the other hand, many observers were unable to withhold their admiration for the Indians' ability to live with each other in harmony and according to the law of nature in the absence of coercive power exercised by a ruler and by legitimately constituted civic authorities. In effect, among the Tupinamba, there existed no public domain of any kind. The result ought to have been, according to European ideas of the period, a state of nature such as Hobbes described.

No satisfactory answer was found as to why such a state did not prevail in the Americas. Instead, there exist a variety of descriptions of how the Tupinamba ran their collective life. Frequently, classical antiquity provided an explanatory context for the phenomena. Chiefs among the Tupinamba had little authority; rather, as among the ancient Spartans, men of experience were respected as a group and made decisions about war and peace. In a similar vein, the eulogy that was pronounced by a respected elder over a dead leader reminded Europeans of Roman funerary eulogies as described in a famous passage by the Greek historian Polybius. Finally, while the Tupinamba had no legal system, it was also the case that like the ancient gentiles, they lived by the law of nature, and moreover put into practice the precept of Justinian, *honeste vivere, alterum non laedere, suum cuique tribuere*, "to live honorably, to avoid harming one's neighbor, and to give to each his own." Not everything that the Tupinamba did, however, was explained by reference to the ancient world. Several Europeans noted, independently of each other, the importance of persuasion among the Tupinamba. Among people profoundly disinclined to obey orders, a good leader had to speak eloquently if his followers were to join in collective action such as hunting and warfare; he had to explain the traditions of the past as they applied to the present; and he had to create consensus with regard to each day's

doings and plans for the next day. As Claude d'Abbeville wrote, a chief of the Tupinamba

has no authority other than giving advice, especially when they are in their assembly or *caser* which they hold every evening in the open space where their houses are. Having made a good fire which serves them for light and to smoke, they bring their cotton hammocks which they hang in the air from poles fixed into the ground. Once each lies reclining in his hammock with a cigar in his hand, they discuss the events of the day and what is to come for peace or war and any other urgent matter, which they determine according to the resolution of their chief.¹²

Europeans glimpsed some further aspects of this egalitarian mentality among the Tupinamba. In Europe, wars were fought to gain territory, wealth, and power. The Tupinamba, however, did not appreciate wealth and power. They believed that there existed sufficient territory to meet everyone's needs. The only grounds for war was vengeance, which did not produce property or power but was an end in itself. The Tupinamba thus worked not to accumulate possessions but only for simple survival. They had no appreciation for the use of money and consequently were uninterested in learning what it was to buy and sell. The French, believing that the Tupinamba were educable in European and Christian ways, took some of them back to France. An episode that occurred on one such voyage revealed just how wide was the gulf between Tupinamba and European perceptions of value, and of virtuous behavior. Bad weather forced the ship to stop at Falmouth, where the Tupinamba learned to detect the port's traders as "*tapouytin*, worthless white enemies, petty and avaricious," because they would not part with goods for the value offered. A further difficulty was money, because the Indians saw no difference between coins of gold, silver, and base metals. One of the Indians, who had found a small blackened base metal coin, accordingly tried to use it to purchase oysters from a fisherman. On being told that a coin of "white metal" was needed for this transaction, he whitened his black coin with chalk, whereupon, amidst general hilarity, the fisherman also laughed and gave him some oysters. Even so, the Tupinamba Indian could not rid himself of the conviction that the *tapouytin* were both greedy and depraved.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Pedro Vaz de Caminha and

other Europeans had glimpsed in the Americas traces of paradisaic freedom, of the golden age and primal innocence that had long been deeply rooted in the dreams and aspirations of the Old World. These were illusions, but not only illusions. What impressed the first Europeans in the New World was that here, human beings felt and behaved differently. They felt no shame, they seemed apathetic to the accumulation of property, and they seemed to need no coercive institutions in order to live in an abundance of "natural charity." On the other hand, the Tupinamba pursued their ideal of vengeance to an extreme that Europeans found repulsive. Yet even vengeance and anthropophagy were intelligible to those who had lived through the French Wars of Religion. It is no accident that Montaigne, who observed and abhorred the calculated atrocities of confessional warfare, found Indian man-eating less inhuman than the deeds of his own countrymen. Jean de Léry, who wrote so incisive and moving a description of the Tupinamba, was one of some 500 persons to survive the siege of Sancerre in 1573; there, during the last desperate months when all stores had been used up, human flesh was eaten. The Europe that had looked in hope to new horizons at the beginning of the century, at century's end struggled not only with religious division but also with the practical consequences of that newly described science, reason of state. This shift in the political and cultural life of the Old World also influenced the way Europeans perceived the Inka empire and the chiefdoms of the Pacific coast, of the Amazon Basin, and of Venezuela.

TAWANTINSUYU AND ITS NEIGHBORS

In September 1513, a group of Indians led the Spaniard Blasco Núñez de Balboa from the Caribbean across the Isthmus of Panamá. In a grand gesture that still fired the imagination of historians over a century later, Balboa took possession of the Pacific Ocean on behalf of King Fernando II of Aragón, regent of Castile. In 1519, the city of Panamá was founded. Very soon, expeditions of adventurers and servants of the Spanish crown set out from there in the hope of founding further cities and settlements, and of seizing the gold and silver treasures that were rumored to exist in lands that lay to the south. Initial explorations of the Pacific coast near Panamá progressed haltingly, even though indigenous people had been sailing up and down these thickly inhabited shores for centuries. It was

¹² Claude d'Abbeville, *Histoire* p. 329.

thus from "Indian lords and merchants and their interpreters, whose trade penetrated much territory," that the royal inspector Pascual de Andagoya heard about the Inka empire.

A few years later, in 1525, an expedition headed by Francisco Pizarro captured an Indian trading raft just south of the equator near Tumbes. The raft was equipped with cotton sails, was manned by some twenty sailors, and carried an impressive cargo of

numerous objects of gold and silver for personal adornment which they intended to exchange with their trading partners. The objects included crowns, diadems, belts, bracelets, leg ornaments and breast plates, pincers and small bells and strings and bunches of beads, ruby silver and mirrors adorned with the said silver, cups and other drinking vessels. They carried many cloaks of wool and cotton, shirts and jackets, capes, head coverings and many other garments, most of them beautifully worked with elaborate craftsmanship, in colors of red, crimson, blue and yellow diversely worked into figures of birds, animals, fish and plants. They carried some small scales similar to the Roman kind for weighing gold, and many other things. Among the strings of beads were some containing small stones of emerald and chalcedony and other precious stones and pieces of crystal.¹³

This detailed list of trade goods reflects not only the affluence and sophistication of the Indian chiefdoms of the region but also the Spanish newcomers' ethnographic interests and powers of observation. During these very years, Catholic uniformity was being forcibly imposed in the peninsula, but Spaniards retained a lively interest in the appearance and the doings of their neighbors in divergent expressions of status, power, wealth, and personal dignity. Ambassadors and ecclesiastical emissaries had long traveled from the peninsula to northern Europe, Italy, and the eastern Mediterranean. Their accounts of what they had seen and experienced established a language of ethnographic enquiry that recurs in narratives written by *conquistadores* from the Americas, when in turn these men put pen to paper to describe or defend their actions. Such writings, whether produced simply for publication, or for purposes of litigation or requesting promotion, were usually designated as *relaciones*, or reports. Insofar as these works discussed the indigenous people of the Americas, a standardized set of themes to be treated emerged quickly, precisely because earlier Spanish travel literature had prepared the way in

¹³ Relación Sámano, in Francisco de Xérez, *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú*, ed. Concepción Bravo (Madrid, 1983), pp. 179-180.

defining what to ask about and look for. Like their fifteenth-century ancestors in Europe, Spaniards of the sixteenth century in America were interested in jewels, clothing and personal appearance as expressions of status and hierarchy. The list of garments and of items for personal adornment and domestic consumption that were looted from the trading raft captured near Tumbes is far from unique. From these matters concerning the individual, *relaciones* about Panamá, the North Andes, and Peru usually proceed to mention domestic and familial rituals and customs, such as marriages, funerals, and rules of inheritance, and particulars of communal and public life, government, agriculture, warfare, architectural design, and religious belief and ritual. Just as in the Río de la Plata, so in the territories that now make up Panamá and Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, the Spanish invaders were dependent for their very survival on their understanding of certain practicalities of life, in particular of indigenous methods of food production and warfare. No such practical concerns explain repeated and extended descriptions of Indian funerary customs, religious beliefs, and methods of exercising political authority. These did, however, raise more transcendental questions as to the nature of human life and society, and the extent to which European and American societies could be compared.

North of the city of Panamá and also in many regions of the North Andes, "tribes," "nations," or "peoples" seemed to be living by the law of nature, much as it had been envisioned by the Infante Don Juan Manuel in the early fourteenth century in a work describing his own Christian as compared to a gentile society. Exactly like Juan Manuel's imagined gentiles, so on the Isthmus of Panamá and in the North Andes, people appeared to observe "no ceremonies or worship" because they had no clear idea of the existence of an all-powerful deity. On the other hand, they lived together in a social life that was ordered "with much justice."

The law of nature was not merely an ethnographic stereotype that Spaniards arbitrarily imposed on alien societies; it was a general social theory. The concept of natural law provided a framework within which such societies could be observed and described. Thus, for example, Pascual de Andagoya described the Indians of the province of Cueva on the Isthmus of Panamá, whom he had encountered in 1514, in some detail. Each settlement, some consisting of only three or four houses, had its own headman.

The lords of this province were small, because there were many of them, and there was much conflict over fishing and hunting, in which many were killed. Lords in their language are known as *tiba*, and the headmen, who are nobly descended, were called *piranzilos*, because being valiant men, they gained fame in war. Those who left battle wounded were honored by the lord with the gift of a house and attendants and received the title *cabra*. They lived in much justice, in the law of nature, without any ceremony or worship. In these provinces the lords in person judged disputes without intervention of judge or bailiff, and also without information from witnesses, because they were convinced that the parties would tell the truth. In these provinces lords took no income or tribute from their subjects except for personal services whereby, whenever the lord needed assistance with building a house, with planting, fishing or warfare, everyone had to contribute without receiving remuneration from the lord beyond celebratory drinking and eating. In this way, neither did lords take from their vassals, nor did they lack for anything, and they were feared and loved.¹⁴

After mentioning marriage arrangements and inheritance, Andagoya wrote in some detail about shamanistic journeys, funerary rituals, and religious beliefs. All of this, he concluded, added up to "living by the law of nature, to keeping the precepts of not killing, stealing or taking another's wife." Andagoya was not the only one to notice that lordship and political authority as viewed by Indians of the isthmus and the North Andes had no real European equivalents, because they did not translate into any explicit forms of coercive power. Reference to the concept of natural law was one way to describe this state of affairs. Other observers felt that, however strange these Indian social arrangements might be, they nonetheless added up to a political life, something absolutely distinct from primal chaos.

So while many Indians lived "politically," and according to natural law, other Indian societies displayed no discernible signs of political hierarchy. These, according to Pascual de Andagoya, "we call *beherrias* because they have no lord at all." In medieval Castile, people inhabiting regions described as *beherrias* were free to choose their own lords or to omit doing so. In a *beherria*, accordingly, rights of dominion could not be inherited, and therefore it was impossible to institutionalize power. This was precisely what Andagoya and other Spaniards thought they saw among indigenous societies that lacked a visible structure of authority. For the historian Pedro Cieza de León, who between 1541 and 1550 traveled extensively throughout the Andean world, the distinction be-

tween societies that were *beherrias* and those that were not seemed fundamental. As he saw it, in the region of Popayán in what is now southwestern Colombia, there existed *beherrias* and nothing else. "Above all," wrote Cieza, "these people hate providing service for others and living in subjection." The reason that this mode of existence, free of hierarchy and political obligation, could be sustained, Cieza thought, was essentially ecological and environmental.

These provinces are very fertile, and are surrounded on all sides by dense mountain jungle, swamps and other obstacles. And even if the Spanish invade, the Indians will burn the houses which they inhabit, which are of wood and straw, and remove themselves the distance of a league or two, or however far they see fit, and in three or four days they will have built a house, and in the same time they will plant the maize they need, which they harvest within four months. And if in this place also they are persecuted, they give it up and move on, or return, and wherever they go, they find food and fertile land that is suitable for producing a crop. Hence, they obey when they wish to do so, war and peace are in their own hands, and they never lack sustenance.¹⁵

Cieza perceived a profound contrast between these decentralized North Andean societies and the very different policies of the Central Andean highlands of Peru. The Indians of Peru, he thought,

serve well and are docile, both because they are more reasonable than the others and because they were all subject to the Inka kings, to whom they paid tribute and always obeyed them. Such were the circumstances in which they were born, and if they did not want to obey, necessity forced them to it. For the land of Peru is desolate, full of mountain highlands and snowy expanses. If thus they were to leave their villages and valleys for these wildernesses, they would not be able to survive because the land yields no fruit and there is no place to go other than their own valleys and provinces. As a result, to avoid death, given that they cannot live alone, they must be subject and not give up their lands.¹⁶

Cieza was not the first to perceive a fundamental difference between the Inka empire and its northern neighbors. Even the hardened soldiers of fortune who accompanied Pizarro on the expedition that resulted in the capture and murder of the Inka ruler Atawallpa in 1533 noticed that they were entering a very different world as they were approaching the Inka coastal settlement at Tumbes. Some of the settlements further north had indeed been sizable, but houses everywhere had been built of wood and

¹⁵ Pedro Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú. Primera Parte*, ed. F. Pease (Lima 1984), p. 58.

¹⁶ Pedro Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú. Primera Parte*, ed. F. Pease (Lima, 1984), chapter 13, pp. 58-59.

¹⁴ Pascual de Andagoya, *Relación y documentos* ed. A. Blázquez (Madrid, 1986), pp. 89-90.

thatch, whereas Tumbes, like most other Inka settlements and cities, possessed buildings constructed of stone that impressed many Europeans as being superior even to the admired architectural creations of the Romans. Although Tumbes was a mere outpost of the Inka empire, it was the seat of an Inka lord who administered justice and supervised the *corvée* labor that Inka subjects performed for the state. There was also a temple of the Sun, along with a house for chosen women who wove cloth for the Inka state and brewed maize beer for ceremonial uses. The place thus familiarized the invaders with institutions that they were to encounter again and again in their expedition southward. In the words of Miguel de Estete, a member of Pizarro's invading host, at Tumbes,

begins the peaceful dominion of the lords of Cuzco and the good land. For although the lords further North including the lord of Tumbala who was a great man were subject to the Inkas, they were not as peaceable as those to the South. For they only recognized the Inkas and gave certain tribute, but no more; whereas further South they were all Inka vassals and very obedient.¹⁷

Traversing the chiefdoms and *behetrías* of the North Andes, Spaniards had at times been impressed by a certain splendor of golden jewels and formal attire, and by elaborate rituals that served to distinguish important individuals from the rest. But all this was as nothing compared to the sheer refinement, the solemn and dignified ceremonial, and the hosts of male and female attendants that surrounded the Inka ruler. Traversing the Andes, most Spaniards used any vocabulary that came to hand in order to describe the phenomena they encountered. They thus referred to the maize beer that was brewed by the chosen women of the Sun, *sha* in Quechua, by the term *chicha*, picked up on the Isthmus of Panamá. Andean places of worship were often described as *mezquita* or 'mosque,' while Andean and Inka lords, *kuraka* in Quechua, were almost invariably referred to by the Caribbean term *cacique*. The Inka ruler Atawallpa was thus often described as a *cacique*, but in this instance it soon became clear that the term was a misnomer and that the Inka empire was not simply another chiefdom.

Men who had been trained in Spain to conduct themselves in accord with an elaborately orchestrated courtly ceremonial recognized the existence of a courtly code of conduct among the Inka and described it in

some detail. But they considered themselves in no way bound by it. On the last day of Atawallpa Inka's freedom, representatives of the four parts of the empire carried him into the square of Cajamarca on his royal litter, the carrying poles of which were covered in silver. Dancers and musicians walked in front. Attendants cleaned the ground where the Inka was about to pass, "which was hardly necessary," wrote Miguel de Estete, "because the people of Cajamarca had already swept carefully." The Inka's sacred person was shaded by a parasol, and alongside his litter were carried the litters of the great lords of the empire, one of them being the lord of Chincha, the most powerful nobleman of Atawallpa's empire. Different groups of Atawallpa's followers wore tunics of varying patterns and colors, among which Miguel de Estete picked out the black and white checkerboard tunics that seemed to him to resemble the liveries worn by European courtiers. Some forty years later, the conqueror's brother Pedro Pizarro still remembered how the gold and silver ornaments of Atawallpa's followers had sparkled in the afternoon sunlight. Long after the Inka were gone, Andean people recalled with yearning the intense solemnity that had projected the ruler's majesty during royal journeys and processions. Inka pomp was a cherished symbol of a lost world of order, dignity, and abundance.

While the Inka ruler's interaction with the multitude of his subjects was articulated by one set of ceremonial rules, another governed the more intimate daily life of the Inka court. One *conquistador* from Extremadura noticed that when Atawallpa spat, he did so not on the ground but into the hands of a lady of his court. He wore his garments only once, and immediately changed if a garment was soiled; on one occasion, a Spaniard thus watched Atawallpa withdraw in the middle of his meal so as to change tunics. He ate alone, from gold dishes and goblets that were set aside for his exclusive use. No one touched the Inka's food once it had been placed before him. Everything that had come into contact with the Inka's person was subsequently burned.

Access to the Inka was carefully controlled. When Pedro Pizarro visited the Inka court stationed outside Cajamarca, he found Atawallpa hidden behind a ceremonial cloth through which he could see, while himself remaining unseen. Even great lords presented themselves before the Inka barefoot, just as they would only enter barefoot into a place of worship. Nobody entered the Inka's presence without carrying a burden or gift as a token of submission and reverence. The *conquistador* Juan de Mena had watched how individuals desiring to speak with Atawallpa

¹⁷ Miguel de Estete, *Noticia del Perú*, in Horacio H. Urteaga, ed., *Historia de los Inkas y conquista del Perú. Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú*, second series, vol. 8 (Lima, 1924), p. 20.

would wait, standing at a distance. Francisco Pizarro's secretary Xérez had observed how, coming nearer, they would kiss the Inka's hands and feet. Andean people blew eyelashes to the divine Sun as an expression of veneration, and likewise to the Inka. Like the *huacas*, the Andean holy presences, the Inka was only addressed with lowered eyes. He himself rarely looked at anyone. When giving a command, the Inka did it merely with a gesture of his hands or a glance of his eyes, without speaking. He never raised his voice, expecting from his subject the most unquestioning and unconditional obedience.

Spaniards found the veneration with which Andean people approached the Inka ruler both awe-inspiring and unnerving. Nearly forty years after Atawallpa was killed in Cajamarca, Francisco Toledo, then viceroy of Peru, brought the Inka ruler Túpac Amaru I, who had ruled over a small Inka state in exile, to be executed in the old capital city of Cusco. According to a Spanish eyewitness,

on the day when the Inka was to be killed, a platform had been erected for the execution in the main square of Cuzco, which was filled with over a hundred thousand Indian men and women who were mourning loudly for their king and lord. And Túpac Amaru was so profoundly dismayed that he could hardly speak. Being close to so fearful an end, having been baptized at his own request on the very platform, and having been given the name Don Pablo, it seems that Our Lord bestowed on him his divine mercy and gave him courage and strength in his hour of great need. . . . Raising both his hands, the Inka Túpac Amaru made with them the sign that the Inkas customarily make when addressing their nobles. Turning his face to where most of the *kurakas* were standing, he said in their language and in a loud voice, "Oiariguaichic!" [Quechua: 'Listen to me!'] Instantly, the shouting, mourning and crying out ceased, and a complete silence descended as though not a living soul had been present in the square. So great was the authority and monarchy of the Inkas, and the obedience that their subjects paid to them.¹⁸

Among other things, Túpac Amaru urged his subjects to become Christians, and he was then beheaded. "As soon as the Inka's speech was ended," continued our eyewitness,

the Indians began once more to grieve and mourn, even more so at the sight of the execution, in a way that, without having seen it, is impossible to imagine. The head was placed on the pillory, whence the Viceroy ordered it to be

¹⁸ Antonio Bauista de Salazar, "Virey Don Francisco de Toledo," in *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía*, vol. 8 (Madrid, 1867), pp. 278-279.

removed the other night because a large multitude of Indians were worshipping and adoring it without even stopping to eat. Such was the veneration in which the Inkas were held, even after they had died.¹⁹

The death of Túpac Amaru in 1572 marked the end of an era. While he lived it had remained thinkable that the Inka élite and the *kurakas* of the former Inka empire would retain some decisive position of leadership within Spanish governmental structures. The passing of this era also marked a profound shift in the methods and content of ethnographic and historical enquiry in the Andes. In 1560, the missionary friar Domingo de Santo Tomás, who as prior of the Dominican convent of Chinchá had conversed with Pedro Cieza de León, published the first lexicon and grammar of Quechua, the language that the Inka had employed as the *lingua franca* of their empire. These volumes are not merely monuments of meticulous ethnographic enquiry and linguistic scholarship. In declaring that Quechua was as elegant, ordered, and articulate a language as Latin and Spanish, and that it could be described according to the same grammatical concepts, Fray Domingo was entering a plea for Andean self-government, with minimal interference from Spaniards. A capacity for self-government, in the eyes of sixteenth-century Spaniards, expressed itself in knowing how to delegate authority, how to distribute obligations, and how to organize a hierarchy of persons ensuring that a given set of tasks would be performed in an appropriate manner. The presence of such a hierarchy at the Inka court was what impressed the Spanish invaders who watched Atawallpa interact with those who served him, whether they were the ladies of his entourage, the lord of Chinchá, or the great general Chalicuchima who stepped into Atawallpa's presence with downcast eyes, barefoot and carrying a burden.

Some ten years later, Cieza, passing through Xauxa, observed the workings of hierarchy in another context. How was it, he had been asking himself, that beyond the frontiers of the Inka empire, entire regions had been depopulated as a result of the wars and epidemics that attended the Spanish invasion, while in Peru, populations, although diminished in numbers, were continuing to exist? His answer was that the long practice of delegating authority and of distributing tasks in accord with the resources of different groups and individuals endowed

¹⁹ Antonio Bauista de Salazar, "Virey Don Francisco de Toledo," in *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía*, vol. 8 (Madrid, 1867), p. 281.

the population of the former Inka empire with a resilience that was lacking in more decentralized societies. This perception, which Cieza was not the only one to express, also resounds in the lexicon of Domingo de Santo Tomás. This work abounds in vocabulary denoting levels of authority that range from the *capac çapa* (i.e., qhapaq sapa), the Inka "king or emperor," to the simple *yayanc*, or master of servants. The lexicon also provides terminology for professional specializations of merchants, weavers, embroiderers, potters, and many others, thus assembling, point by small point, the linguistic portrait of a many-layered and ordered society that easily matched European counterparts.

A similar argumentation speaks in the questionnaire that Domingo de Santo Tomás compiled for the use of royal visitors whose task it was to assess the tribute-paying capacities of different Andean regions. Questionnaires had long been used in peninsular litigation and were also used in Peru. During the second half of the sixteenth century, this same method of fact finding was employed in the Americas in order to assemble information desired for purposes of government and the collection of revenue. It was to replace official questionnaires compiled for such purposes by bureaucrats that Domingo de Santo Tomás produced a version of his own, which, so he thought, corresponded more appropriately to what Spaniards ought to learn about Peru and its Inka past. Here, as in the lexicon, the well-ordered quality of Andean society and its various traditions of delegating authority are highlighted. In the questionnaire, Domingo de Santo Tomás distinguishes the Inka or "sovereign lord" of Peru from his "governors," who in turn are not the same as "the lords whose personal vassals the Indians were." In addition, the questionnaire is designed to reveal the crucial point that "in former times" Indians worked for the Inka peoples but did not pay tribute or tax out of their own possessions. They owed work only, applying it to raw goods the Inka supplied. Another expert on Inka government who understood the centrality of this issue was the lawyer Juan Polo de Ondegardo, who was equally convinced that Inka governmental practices should be preserved in the colonial context whenever possible and should therefore be studied carefully. Although not all Spaniards in Peru held these same convictions, a veritable flood of official enquiries during the second half of the sixteenth century led to the amassing of information not only about taxation but also about the geography, climate, ecology, history, and customs of the different Andean regions. The simple and concise reports or *relaciones* that the first invaders had written were thus supplanted by

more elaborate geographical and historical reports. Some of these were designed not only to serve the needs of government but also to be incorporated into official histories of the Spanish empire that were being commissioned at the time by Philip II and the Council of the Indies in Madrid.

Meanwhile, the nature of the information that was being searched for and collected in the Andes had also changed. Among the first to realize that Inka and Andean society could not be understood without some grasp of the history of the Inka was Pedro Cieza de León, who made extensive enquiries into this subject while he was in Cusco in 1550. Another diligent investigator of Inka history was the *conquistador* Juan de Betanzos; he lived in Cusco and, having married one of Atawallpa's cousins, learned about the Inka past from this lady's kinsmen. In addition, several lawyers, among them Juan Polo de Ondegardo and Hernando Santillán, pointed out that in order to govern in the Andes, historical knowledge was indispensable, because without it, Inka legislation and legal custom would inevitably remain unintelligible.

Cieza and Betanzos were the first to understand that, as the Inka and many of their subjects had viewed matters, the origin and earliest history of the Inka ruling clan, shrouded though this was in myth, constituted the *raison d'être* of Tawantinsuyu, the empire of the "four interdependent parts" of Peru. Several assertions converged on this issue. In many parts of the Andes and especially in Cusco, Spaniards were told that ordered political life had begun with the Inka. Previously, according to Cieza, "the nations of these regions lived without order, killing each other." "They were all *behetrias* without order, for they declare unambiguously that they had no lords, but only captains with whom they went forth to war." According to Polo, "each province defended its own land without help from anyone because they were *behetrias*." Various accounts were current according to which the Inka, who came from Pacaritambo near Cusco, obeyed the divine mandate of "their father the Sun." By teaching people everywhere skills of civilization such as agriculture and weaving, they gradually became masters of their empire. According to other versions of the story, the Inka resided in Cusco for many generations but emerged as an imperial power comparable to the Romans when an Inka ruler's younger son, who became known as Pachacuti (Pachakuti, 'turning of time/space,' 'reversal'), defeated an invading army of the neighboring Chancas. Before the decisive battle, Pachacuti Inca experienced a vision of "his father the Sun." During that battle, the Sun sent

warriors who helped to gain the victory and were then metamorphosed into stone. Subsequently, Pachacuti initiated the construction of Quri Kancha (Coricancha in colonial usage), the "enclosure of gold," which became the central sanctuary of the Inka empire. One of the facts that convinced Spaniards that Inka statecraft was deeply and inextricably rooted in beliefs about Inka origins was that one portion of all conquered land in the empire was assigned to the maintenance of the state cult of the Sun, with a further portion subsidizing the ruling Inka and the rest being left to the people at large and their *kurakas*. In this way, the pattern of landholding in the empire articulated both that empire's religious foundations, and the sequence or succession of ruling Inka. In the words of the lawyer Hernando Santillán, the subjects of the Inkas still knew who their Inka rulers had been because

when one of these rulers conquered a province or valley, the natives built him a house and assigned fields to him with Indians to work them, and they gave him women as a token of being his subjects and vassals. To this day, the houses and fields which were assigned to and worked on behalf of each of these lords are known. And in this way it is known how many lords there were and who they were.²⁰

As Spaniards viewed matters, however, there were some difficulties regarding all this information. For one thing, accounts of the origin of the Inka people contained many components that could only be viewed as legendary. Second, before the arrival of Europeans, writing had been unknown in the Andes. What the Inka peoples did have was a system of encoding information on knotted cords known as *quipus*, which were created and preserved by professional *quipu* makers. Many *quipus* recorded quantitative or numerical information: population statistics; varieties of *corvée* labor to be performed for the state in different regions; the content of Inka state storehouses for food supplies, cloth, sandals, and military equipment; and finally, sacrifices owed to regional and Inka deities. When Spanish officials conducted inspections during the early colonial period, assessing the tribute-producing capacities of different regions, the bulk of the information that they gathered came from *quipus*. Other information recorded on *quipus* was narrative and historical, as, for example, accounts of the origins of the Inka and the accounts of the deeds and accomplishments of different Inka rulers such as were collected

by Pedro Cieza de León and other historians. Like every other early Spaniard who mentioned information from *quipus*, Cieza had the highest regard for its accuracy. At the same time, however, he like many others expressed unease about the nature and content of this information. For example, because historical narratives differed from one region to the next, Cieza decided to dismiss regional narratives and take what he learned from the Inka élite in Cusco as his guideline. Even in Cusco, however, some historical narratives were incompatible with each other. This difficulty was aggravated by the fact that as Spaniards perceived it, the Inka had not devised an absolute chronology with an agreed date from which years were counted. Hence, chronological criteria could not be used to evaluate conflicting versions of Inka history. Moreover, there appeared little possibility of correlating such Andean and Inka chronology as did exist with European equivalents, because in Europe ancient historical texts such as the Bible and the writings of classical and medieval historians and chronographers had served as the foundation of absolute chronology. In the Andes, by contrast, there were the *quipus*, along with recitations and songs about the past performed at Inka festivals, but this did not constitute an equivalent to European written traditions.

The conclusion that, in effect, no writing had existed in the Andes before the advent of Europeans had profound repercussions for all future European interpretations of Inka culture, especially when we consider it in the context of the political evolution of the Andean world during the later sixteenth century. By the time Túpac Amaru was killed in 1572, the project of fostering Andean self-government, so dear to Domingo de Santo Tomás and a number of like-minded missionaries and secular officials, had been shelved. It would be replaced by an interventionist policy that brought into existence a colonial state subordinating Andean interests to those of Spaniards.

The definitive implementation of this policy by Viceroy Toledo was accompanied by a significant shift in interpretations of the Inka past. Cieza and many of his contemporaries had regarded the Inka as the natural lords, the legitimate sovereigns of their people, just as the kings of Castile and other peninsular rulers were natural lords in the lands where they governed. This conclusion was underpinned by the perception that the Inka had ruled for a very long time and that their dominion had been exercised by persuasion and consent and not merely by military might. Before the Inka, so the Spanish believed, only *bebetrias*, decentralized societies that were intermittently at war with each other and

²⁰ Hernando Santillán, "Relación," in ed. E. Barba, *Crónicas peruanas de interés indígena* (Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol. 209, Madrid, 1968), p. 104.

knew of no legitimately constituted political authority, had been known in the Andes. Indeed, beyond the frontiers of the Inka empire, to the north of Quito and to the south, in Chile, *beherrias* still held sway and were a living proof of the political and cultural achievements of the Inka.

Such appreciation of the Inka, however, did not mesh well with the colonial project of supplanting Inka with Spanish institutions wherever possible. A central premise of the extensive enquiries into the Inka past and Inka government that Toledo organized was that the Inka, far from ruling as natural lords, had ruled as tyrants. For the most part, so the theory ran, the Inka had prevailed by resorting to force and had displaced earlier polities whose rulers ought to be viewed as the true natural lords of Andean peoples, if indeed such a concept could be applied in the Andes at all. In 1572, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa completed a history of the Inka in light of these ideas. Like Cieza twenty years earlier, Sarmiento collected his information from Inka notables in Cusco. Toledo himself used these same individuals as informants, while also gathering data elsewhere and from other people. But the questions that were now asked were framed differently. Where Cieza had wanted to explain the achievement of the Inka, the information that was now looked for was about Inka tyranny. Toledo thus asked questions such as:

Whether it is true that the first Inka, who was called Manco Capac, tyrannically and by force of arms subjected the Indians who lived on the site of this city of Cusco and took their land. . . .

Whether it is true that they never willingly recognized or elected these Inkas or their successors as lord, but obeyed them from fear because of the great cruelties the Inkas inflicted on them and on others.²¹

These questions were posed to the descendants of groups whose ancestors, as Cieza had also understood, did live on the site of Cusco before the Inka arrived there. But where Cieza used the Spanish vocabulary of political legitimacy and consent to highlight the harmonious aspects of Inka governance, as well as its long duration, Toledo used this same vocabulary so as to highlight the opposite. As a result, the very survivors of the Inka élite of Cusco declared under oath that

as regards tyranny, they heard Indians say that Topa Inka Yupanqui (the grandfather of Atawallpa) was the first who by force of arms made himself lord of all of Peru from Chile to Pasto, recovering also some provinces near Cusco which his father Pachacuti Inka had conquered, which had rebelled. Because until then, all Peru had been ruled as *beherrias*.²²

There was thus nothing sacrosanct or worth preserving about such recent and shallow Inka institutions.

At the same time, however, a more difficult and complex issue speaks through the contrasting views of the Inka that emerged in Spanish historical and ethnographic enquiries during the 1550s and 1570s. This is that European political vocabulary, regardless of whether it was deployed in terms of appreciation of the Inka or confrontationally, could not fully describe Inka institutions because these institutions developed according to processes that had no European parallels. The late medieval vocabulary of natural lordship and natural law that underlies some peninsular political debates of the first half of the sixteenth century, and that also speaks in the enquiries of Cieza and his contemporaries, highlighted the benevolent aspect of Inka dominion. The vocabulary of reason of state that came to prevail in Europe in the later sixteenth century, and that also underlies the enquiries of Viceroy Toledo, on the other hand, highlighted Inka ferocity and military prowess. Cieza and his contemporaries, who also noticed the military dimension of Inka governance, had considered it to be much less important than Inka success in creating and perpetuating institutions of peace. But the real issue was that European conceptual categories and political experience of whatever period did not fully correspond to Andean equivalents. On the one hand, European categories were instrumental in collecting, organizing, and interpreting considerable bodies of data about the Inka and their neighbors. On the other hand, however, these categories veiled from view some aspects of Andean culture, religion, and politics that did not readily fit the available framework.

The city of Cusco, for example, made a profound impact on the several Spaniards who recorded their impressions of it during the early decades after the invasion. Streets, open spaces, houses, temples, and palaces were all described in terms of high admiration, but very little was

²¹ Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., *Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú, por el licenciado D. Fernando de Montesinos, seguidas de las informaciones acerca del señorio de los Inkas hechas por . . . D. Francisco de Toledo* (Madrid, 1882), pp. 224–225.

²² Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., *Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú, por el licenciado D. Fernando de Montesinos, seguidas de las informaciones acerca del señorio de los Inkas hechas por . . . D. Francisco de Toledo* (Madrid, 1882), p. 254.

royal Inka lady and a Spaniard, this cosmic and social order had been initiated in the legendary past, when the first Inka ruler and his consort had founded the city of Cusco.

The king desired that the settlers whom he had gathered together should populate Hanan Cuzco, which thus they called "Upper," while those who were gathered together by the queen were to populate Urin Cuzco, and hence they called it "Lower." This division of the city was not made for one half to surpass the other in privilege and advantages, but rather, all were to be equals as brothers, sons of one father and one mother. The king only desired that there should be this division of the people under the distinct names of Upper and Lower so as to preserve as an everlasting memory that one group had been brought together by the king and the other by the queen. There was to be only one difference and token of superiority, namely that those from upper Cuzco should be respected as firstborn elder brothers, while those from below were to be like younger sons. With regard to position and status, they were to be like the right and left arms, because those from above had been gathered by the man, and those from below by the woman. In imitation of this model, the same division was later implemented in all other settlements of the empire, which were divided by region and lineage, calling them *Hanan ayllu* and *Urin ayllu*, which are the upper and the lower lineages; and *Hanan sayu* and *Urin sayu*, which are the upper and lower regions.²⁴

Garcilaso published his history of the Inkas in 1609. By this time, officials of the Spanish government of Peru had discovered that dual organization was indeed ubiquitous in the Andes and that every Andean settlement consisted of upper and lower moieties, each moiety being headed by its own *kuraka*. In 1567, for example, during an official inspection of the province of Chucuito on Lake Titicaca, Don Martin Cari, who was principal *kuraka* of the upper moiety of Chucuito, informed the inspectors that they ought to ask not him but the *kuraka* of the lower moiety to provide information about that moiety. In addition, Don Martin Cari declared, the inspectors ought to collect the information they wanted about the constituent communities of his own moiety from the various lords of those communities. Like other enquiries of its kind, the inspection of 1567 thus documented a finely articulated dual hierarchy of regional lords who interacted with each other as interdependent participants in a larger whole. Such inspections also revealed that at times, the very nomenclature of people and places articulated a

²⁴ Garcilaso Inca de la Vega, *Comentarios reales de los Inkas* ed. Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María (Biblioteca de autores españoles, 133 Madrid, 1963), p. 28.

said about the principles of political and social order that had brought these spaces and structures into existence. Among the very first to contemplate these principles was Pedro Cieza de León, who conversed with Cusco's Inka inhabitants in some detail. From them he learned that the city was divided into an upper (*hanan*) and a lower (*urin*) region, which were described as "Hanan Cusco" and "Urin Cusco," respectively; the Inka lineages who resided in these two regions were likewise known as "Hanan" and "Urin." Furthermore, so Cieza understood, Cusco was the center of a network of roads that linked the city to the four parts of the empire. In describing this road system, Cieza was reminded of the manner in which the Romans had administered Spain, and thus he wrote:

Four royal roads issued from Cuzco's central square. On the road which they call Chinchasuyo, one goes to the lands of the coast and to the mountains that extend as far as the provinces of Quito and Pasto. On the second road, which they call Condesuyo, they travel to the provinces of that name which are subject to Cusco, and to the city of Arequipa. On the third royal road, which is called Andesuyo, one travels to the provinces which are situated on the slopes of the Andes and to some settlements which lie beyond this mountain range. On the last of these roads, which they call Collasuyo, people travel to the provinces which extend as far as Chile. In this way, just as in Spain the Romans made a division of the peninsula into provinces, so these Indians, by way of keeping control of the different parts of so vast a land, did by means of their roads.²⁵

Roman analogies of this kind, which were cited repeatedly by Spanish historians of the Inka, served to explain the sheer size of the Inka empire and also the sophistication and equity of Inka administration that Cieza and others admired so greatly. But while explaining one issue, such analogies hid from view several others. It was thus only in the early seventeenth century that it became evident that the Inka had conceptualized the four "provinces" of their empire as related to each other in terms of *hanan* and *urin*, upper and lower, and that this relationship of the provinces among each other mirrored relationships of dignity and power among the inhabitants of the capital. The terms *hanan* and *urin* were thus seen to describe not only, or even principally, geographical location but also gender, status, cultural traits, and political and economic position. Hierarchy was one aspect of this method of taking stock of the world, and complementarity was another. According to the historian Garcilaso de la Vega, who had grown up in Cusco as the son of a

²⁵ Pedro Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú. Primera Parte*, p. 238.

hierarchy and duality of origin. In 1586, for example, an official enquiry conducted in the province of Collaguas, northwest of Arequipa, described the relationship between the two neighbouring settlements of Yanqui and Lare:

The town of Yanqui is thus called because *yanqui* is a venerable name; preeminent lords are described by this term, and because the preeminent lords resided and still reside in this town, which is head of this province, and has its name for the following reason. As an expression of courtesy and respect, the people of the region describe a preeminent lord as *lare*; a person is not free to describe himself by this term if he is not descended from a lord of preeminent and noble status, because the word means "uncle" or "kinsman." *Lares* and *yanquis* are thought to be brothers who originated from the mountain Collaguata, and then founded these two leading towns of *Yanque*, where the higher lords resided, and the other is *Lare*, where the lords who follow those of Yanque as uncles and nephews have their abode.²⁵

Most representatives of Spanish government in the Andes experienced little reluctance in superimposing their own administrative system on Andean and Inka institutions, thereby modifying or destroying these institutions before they had been fully understood. Questionnaires that were sent from Spain to initiate official inspections in the Andes thus ranged widely over every conceivable detail of work, government, settlement pattern, and ecology, without ever enquiring explicitly into the workings of dual organization even after its rudiments and ubiquity were well understood. The fact that Andean societies were ordered and governed themselves as moieties thus did not occasion any reexamination of the categories that Europeans deployed in reflecting on possible varieties of political organization. Here also, an observation of Cieza's is indicative of a larger issue. Cieza was told that the third Inka ruler, Lloque (*lluqi*, 'left side') Yupangue, resided in the lower part of Cusco, and that according to some Indians, one Inka ruler had to be of the lower moiety, while another was to be of the upper one. In this case, the Inka empire would have been a dyarchy, ruled by a pair of rulers just as the provinces were ruled by pairs of *kurakas*. However, in the wake of Aristotle, monarchies, aristocracies, and republics were the practicable forms of government that early modern Europeans were prepared to contemplate, which is why Cieza dismissed the information he had been given about

dyarchy with the words, "I do not think this is true and do not believe it."

Even so, the norms that Spaniards used to order and interpret information about the Andes did not constitute a watertight system. For even though dual organization lacked any notable parallels in contemporary Europe, it was perceived to be a crucial factor in the ordered delegation of authority and in the distribution of labor that differentiated the Inka empire from neighboring *behetrias*. These functions in turn made this empire recognizable as such in the eyes of men who regarded hierarchy and a certain ordered regularity as necessary manifestations of any form of political society.

This was why Europeans, when looking beyond the frontiers of the Inka empire, tended to perceive civilization on the side of the Inka and an absence thereof elsewhere. Indeed, at times the Spanish identified their own political goals with those of the Inka. During the later sixteenth century, for example, they noted that the conquest of Chile, of the frontier region between Paraguay and the former Inka empire, and of the Upper Amazon was emerging as infinitely more difficult than the conquest of the central lands of the Inka had been. These frontiers were the very regions where the Inkas had also suffered regular reverses, and where, possibly, the Inkas had perceived a set of natural boundaries. In 1574, Viceroy Toledo launched an unsuccessful campaign against the Chiriguano on the Paraguayan frontier. Forty-two years earlier, as Polo de Ondegardo pointed out to the viceroy, ancestors of some of these same Indians had invaded the Inka empire and had captured the fortress of Cuzcotuyo. Similarly, Spanish observers noted that the Inka conquest of Chile had been costly and that the Inkas did not penetrate south of the River Maule. The historian Jerónimo de Vivar, who wrote in 1558, commented repeatedly on the indomitable qualities of the Indians of Chile, and the valor of the Araucanians as celebrated in Alonso de Ercilla's epic poem.

Similarly, the resistance that the Inkas had encountered on the northern frontier of the "kingdom of Quito" was remembered during subsequent generations. All these polities were chiefdoms whose people, as the Spanish viewed it, valued their freedom above all and admired bravery as the highest virtue their leaders could possess. In religious terms also, Spanish observers contrasted the Inka people and their neighbors, highlighting on the one hand the elaborate and centralized state cult of the Sun that the Inka had implanted throughout their empire, and on the

²⁵ "Relación de la provincia de las Collaguas para la discrecion de las Indias que Su Magestad manda hacer," in *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias. Perú*, vol. 1, ed. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol. 183, Madrid, 1965), section 13, p. 329.

other hand the absence of organized worship among the peoples who lived at and beyond the former Inka frontiers.

The contrasts that Spaniards perceived between sedentary Inka society, centralized, ordered, and governed from cities by religious and state institutions, and the often nomadic or seminomadic frontier societies that lacked cities and centralization, probably perpetuated the opinions that the Inka had earlier expressed about societies other than their own. All versions of the Inka myth of origins stress the Inka mission of teaching arts of civilization such as agriculture and weaving, which were not new to the Cusco region but, in the form that the Inka practiced them, were indeed new to the Amazonian lowlands, to Chile, and to regions on and beyond the northern frontiers of the empire. Such a vision helped to minimize or even conceal features that Inka society shared with other South American societies. These features spelled out certain cultural, religious, and political continuities prevailing across the South American continent. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European observers were unable to discern these continuities, even though European writings of the period indicate that they did exist. Let us consider some examples.

Spaniards in what is now Panama, Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador, among them Pedro Cieza de León, commented – often with puzzled fascination – on the funerary observances of the Indians with whom they came into contact. In particular, they wondered at the frequent custom of preserving dead bodies and keeping them among the living. On the Isthmus of Panamá, for example, Pascual de Andagoya observed how the corpse of a lord was ceremoniously dried out over a smoldering fire and subsequently received periodic offerings. According to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, some indigenous groups in Venezuela observed a similar ritual, and Pedro Cieza de León described a further variant of it in Popayán. In the province of Arma, the bodies of deceased lords were kept inside the houses of the living, while near Cali, the skins of enemies who had been eaten were filled with ashes and preserved for purposes of divination. Similarly, during the conquest of Chile, Spaniards noted that dead bodies were preserved in or near the houses of the living, in fields, or in special enclosures above ground. These dead bodies continued receiving the attentions of the living. A formal separation between the living and the dead such as was customary in Christian Europe seemed to be unknown among the cultures that surrounded the Inka empire. Among the Inka, observances and rituals that likewise served to include

the dead within the affairs of the living figured prominently, and at a state level they were elaborated into the formal cult of the mummified bodies of deceased rulers. These mummies retained ownership of the palaces, lands, herds of llamas, textiles, and ornaments that they had enjoyed during their lifetimes. Royal mummies received the services of their kinsmen and followers and participated in imperial celebrations. In 1533, a group of Spaniards who had been sent to raid Cusco for its treasures was surprised to encounter, in the convent of the chosen women of the Sun, two of these mummified bodies. “In this house,” wrote one of these intruders,

there were many women; and there were two embalmed Indians, and next to them was a living woman with a mask of gold over her face, who was fanning away dust and flies with a fan. The embalmed bodies held in their hands very fine staffs of gold. The woman would not allow the Spaniards to enter unless they took off their shoes, and so they went in to see these dry figures, having first removed their shoes.³⁶

Later during the same year, several of these royal mummies were carried in procession around Cusco to celebrate the inauguration of Manco Inca, whom the Spaniards had chosen to succeed Atawallpa.

Casual observations by sixteenth-century Europeans thus reveal that rituals regulating interaction between the living and deceased rulers and other important individuals, as well as rituals that underpinned the continuing presence of the dead among the living, straddled cultural and political frontiers within and beyond the Andean highlands.

The same was the case regarding rituals surrounding living rulers. At Cajamarca, the Spanish observed how the path that was to be traversed by Atawallpa was carefully cleaned and swept, while on certain occasions in Cusco, feather work of diverse colors was spread out where the Inka was to walk. Such observances were not unique. Ulrich Schmidel and Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca both noted that on the Paraguay River, people honored their chiefs by sweeping the paths where they were to walk and by scattering flowers and scented herbs.

Such ritual particulars were anchored in larger patterns of social organization and the organization of work, and also in perceptions of the mythic past, which all point to cultural continuities that extend from one end of the South American continent to the other. Yves d'Évreux

³⁶ “The Anonymous de la conquista del Perú,” ed. A. Pogo, *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 64: 8 (1930), pp. 256, 258.

observed that the Tupinamba viewed work as a cooperative enterprise in which chiefs labored side by side with their people, given that coerced work was unknown. Once a given task had been accomplished, a Tupinamba chief was expected to entertain with food and drink those who had worked with and for him. That was the purported reason why chiefs had larger gardens than the rest. Throughout the Inka empire, people observed similar rituals of cooperation, always involving public feasting at the expense of the individual for whom work had been performed. Indeed, frequently, the work itself was ritualized, with the Inka or principal lord inaugurating the task at hand, with those lower down in the social hierarchy taking their turns subsequently. Ritualized work was distributed to men and women by age groups, with each group ranging from the very young to the very old accomplishing tasks that corresponded to its strength and ability. The Tupinamba also organized themselves in age groups and distributed work accordingly. According to the historian Jeronimo de Vivar, the Indians near Concepción in Chile maintained a similar system of age groups; individuals received one name at birth, another at age twelve or fifteen, and a final name at age forty or fifty years.

Parallels of this kind, casually noted by European writers of the early modern period, document age-old networks of cultural, political, and economic interconnections that pervaded the South American continent. Such parallels existed not only between the Inka and their immediate neighbors, on the one hand, as well as with the societies of the Atlantic coast of South America on the other, but also between the Inka and the natives of the Amazon and of Venezuela. To these regions we now turn.

THE AMAZON RIVER AND VENEZUELA

The vast estuary of the Amazon River was first sighted by Europeans in 1500, but it took another forty years before it dawned on the newcomers that this body of fresh water issuing into the ocean was connected to a river system that originated on the eastern slopes of the Andes well over 2,000 miles away. The first Europeans to navigate the entire length of the river from the vicinity of Quito to its estuary were Francisco de Orellana and his fifty-four companions. Even after these men had reached the Atlantic Ocean in August 1542, at the end of a voyage lasting nearly eight months, some people insisted on thinking that the Amazon estuary was to be identified with that of the Orinoco River, which, in

actual fact, is situated some thousand miles to the northwest, on the coast of Venezuela. However, this kind of error was hardly surprising given that the chronicler of Orellana's voyage, the Dominican friar Gaspar de Carvajal, provided little hard geographical information. He kept observing that "it was hidden from us what kind of journey we were making," or "we did not know what river it was that we were on," or "God helped us, lost human beings who did not know where we were."

The entire expanse of territory traversed by Orellana, as well as much of Venezuela and of the New Kingdom of Granada, was from the very beginning the home of legends and remained so for generations. These legends were all the more powerful because they were rooted in information that had been gathered from Indians who were believed to understand "the secrets" of their native land. It was from Indians near Quito that Orellana and others heard about a "land of cinnamon" where this much desired spice, which the Portuguese and others were importing to Europe from Asia, could be harvested from trees. Getting to these cinnamon trees had been one of the original purposes of Orellana's adventure. A 1561 voyage down the Amazon, by Pedro de Ursúa and Lope de Aguirre, was occasioned by an account of the kingdom of Omaguas, which supposedly rivaled the wealth of the Inka empire. This story had been picked up from the remnant of Tupinamba Indians who in 1549 had arrived in Peruvian Chachapoyas after their decade-long transcontinental trek from their homes in Brazil. Supporting information about Omaguas came from Germans and Spaniards in Venezuela who were fighting their way southward from the Caribbean coast and who, as best they were able, tried to learn what their Indian guides and interpreters were not necessarily willing to communicate. Another potent legend concerned El Dorado, "the gilded man." Some versions reported him among the Omagua, others on the northeastern cordillera of the Andes, or possibly in Guiana. Or maybe El Dorado was not a man but a place, even if, as the historian José de Oviedo y Baños wrote toward the end of the seventeenth century, it was "an imaginary place founded on pure fancy."

Furthermore, just as in the Río de la Plata region, so on the Amazon River the much repeated legend about women warriors who lived in an ordered polity without men circulated widely. This, at any rate, was what the Spanish believed they were being told by their indigenous interlocutors, at the same time reaching the conclusion that these women were to be identified with the Amazons of classical antiquity. So when, some

distance west of the confluence of the Amazon and Tapajós rivers, Gaspar de Carvajal observed among male warriors some women appearing in proud heroic nudity, doing battle against the Spanish, he was convinced that these women had something to do with the noble Amazons who had been mentioned by classical historians. The suggestion that a society of Amazons was to be found in South America occasioned erudite ridicule among some scholars in Europe. Nonetheless, the Jesuit missionary Cristóbal de Acuña, who in 1639 undertook a voyage down the Amazon River, was convinced that they did exist. Acuña moreover gave thought not so much to the "gilded man" as to a gilded lake, which might yet be found somewhere along the Amazon River. Last but not least, in 1639, warrior Amazons conversing with the Spanish invaders of Peru made their appearance on the theatrical stage of Madrid. There a warrior woman explained in a long and dramatic monologue how her ancestors had voyaged from the Mediterranean to their new home on the American river that by this time Europeans were beginning to agree to call "Amazon."

Such legends found so ready a home not only in the Río de la Plata but also in the Amazonian valleys and lowlands and along the Orinoco River, because the societies of these regions remained inherently more alien and inaccessible to Europeans than the Inka or even the Tupinamba, the Chiriguano, or the indomitable Araucanians of Chile. The reason was that, up to the mid-colonial era, few really permanent and substantial European settlements grew in the forests and savannahs of these vast interior river systems. Except in the Río de la Plata, there was no effective conquest of inland South America. Europeans passed through as travelers or adventurers looking forward to some future period of settlement, but such a period had not as yet arrived. Men who wrote about the Inkas and the Tupinamba, or about the *beherías* of the kingdom of Quito, and later about the Chibcha of Bogotá, did so in a context of European settlement and colonial government that allowed for contact over many years, and thus for sustained and detailed study of institutions, customs, and languages. Furthermore, "indirect rule" at the local level fostered a native bicultural stratum able to answer European questions in terms Europeans would listen to. Meanwhile, however, the cultures being studied and described in the new colonial context changed profoundly. As we have seen, these changes are embedded in the literature about them.

Conversely, in the valleys of the Amazon and the Orinoco, the writers'

impact on the societies they described was at first considerably smaller than in the more colonized lands of coastal Brazil, riverine Argentina, the Andes, and Caribbean Venezuela. The inland-traveling authors produced travel literature, a genre of writing that was inevitably superficial because it consisted of a patchwork of passing scenes. It afforded little scope for observations requiring an understanding of a people's history, institutions, and language. Francisco de Orellana did compose alphabetized word lists of the languages of Indian nations he was passing on his voyage. But compilations of this kind, evidently most useful for purposes of finding one's way and obtaining food, cannot be compared to research such as that done by Domingo de Santo Tomás and Diego González Holguín on Quechua, or by Claude d'Abbéville on Tupí, works that stand handsomely alongside the best European scholarship of their time. Even so, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European literature of travel and exploration does afford some surprisingly detailed and complex glimpses of Amazonian societies.

What drove the first Spaniards to see the Amazon and to make contact with indigenous peoples was primarily their need for food. The same situation obtained, during this same period, on the Río de la Plata and the Paraguay River, except that on the Amazon, there was no direct conquest and hence no coexistence between indigenous people and invaders. The Spaniards had little occasion and no desire to understand how the people they met governed themselves.

An encounter between Orellana's men and the Amazonian people of the Ymara (Omagua?) on the Napo River furnishes an example. After more than a week of floating by uninhabited river banks while fighting starvation with shoe leather and herbs, the Spaniards heard drums at a distance, distinguishing soprano, alto, and tenor tones, and hoped they would soon reach a settlement, as indeed they did. Finding that the Indians had "deserted their village leaving behind all the food that was in it," the Spaniards ate the food. When in due course the chief and some of his people returned, the most important matter to be recorded was that "the Indians brought in abundance what we needed, meat, partridges, turkeys and many kinds of fish." The chief of this group was described as "old Aparia" or "Aparia the lesser." Farther downstream, Orellana's expedition encountered a chief whom, without further explanation, Gaspar de Carvajal described as "Aparia the Great." This is a tantalizing and enigmatic piece of information, given that throughout the Inka empire and in early colonial Peru, *kurakas*, local lords, ruled in

pairs, the upper and lower moiety of every community being represented by its own *kuraka*. Amazonia had, and has, its own paired power structures. Harrowed by hunger and uncertain of their whereabouts, however, the Spanish on the Amazon were not inclined to enquire about the intricacies of local governance. Information about foodstuffs, on the other hand, appears regularly in accounts of these journeys. Along the entire length of the river, the Spanish were able to exchange or steal turtles and "fish of various kinds," as well as partridges, manatees, and roasted monkeys. They even took parrots. The Indians kept them for their feathers and as pets, but the Spanish wanted them, as Carvajal bluntly put it, "for the pot."

Amazonian economy as described by the early travelers was capable of producing surpluses, and a number of societies developed techniques of storing their food. Among the Machiparo, for example, where Orellana's company ate meat, fish, and a kind of bread that was made, as elsewhere along the Amazon, of manioc, or of manioc mixed with maize, over a thousand tortoises were kept in small artificial lakes. Twenty years later, Lope de Aguirre's troops again noticed these lakes, which were enclosed by circles of heavy stakes. In addition, they saw the Machiparo storing some of their maize. The Amazonians also prepared an alcoholic beverage, ate turtle eggs, and produced what the Spanish called "pastries." East of the Rio Negro, Carvajal noted that maize was being stored in baskets, which in turn were set in ash in order to keep the contents dry. An account of Pedro Texeira's expeditions, undertaken during the years 1637-1639, describes how on Amazonian islands, apparently near the river's estuary, villagers kept manioc dry by storing it in silos dug into the ground. Repeatedly, the Spaniards admired the "handsome sight" of orchards of fruit trees and of cultivated fields of maize and vegetables. In short, many Amazonian societies were affluent, capable of creating large and well-organized settlements and of raising sizable armies of fighting men. About approaching the land of the "very great lord" Machiparo, for example, Gaspar de Carvajal wrote:

This Machiparo dwells on a ridge at the river's edge and rules over many large settlements which can raise fifty-thousand fighting men between the ages of thirty and seventy. Before reaching this settlement, from a distance of two leagues, we could see the light color of the villages, and we had not progressed far when a very large number of canoes came upstream, all splendidly fitted for war, with their shields made of lizard skin and of hides of manatees and tapirs,

each shield the height of a man, covering him entirely. The warriors raised a loud noise, drumming numerous drums and blowing wooden trumpets, threatening that they would eat us.²⁷

Farther downstream, Orellana's men encountered the Omagua and admired their pottery, "very well made, with different designs and glazed." Moreover, wrote Gaspar de Carvajal,

in a large house we saw two large idols, the height of giants, woven of palm fronds, and they had elongated ears like the Inkas of Cusco. We did not dare to sleep there because many wide and excellent roads led to the inland regions, indicating that this village was much frequented and that in this neighborhood or very close, there existed many settlements and people.²⁸

Some three weeks later,

all the time passing very sizable settlements, we landed in a village where we found, in a square, in a shrine of the sun, a large relief plaque ten foot in circumference, all of one piece, from which the reader can imagine the size of the tree from which this piece had been cut. The design showed a round tower with two doors, in each door two columns, and on the sides of the tower were two lions of fierce aspect looking backwards, as though about to hide. In their paws and claws they held the entire sculpted relief, in the centre of which was a wheel with a hole where they poured chicha, which is the wine these people drink, as an offering to the sun, and the sun is whom they adore as their god. Beneath this plaque, the chicha flowed out to the ground. Finally, the building itself was a sight to behold, and a sign of the great cities that lie inland: this is what all the Indians gave us to understand. In the same square there was a house of the sun, large and standing to one side, where the Indians perform their rites and ceremonies. There we saw many garments of diversely colored very fine feathers, which were sewn and woven into cotton cloth. The Indians wear these garments to celebrate their festivals and to dance, when they gather there for some feast day or to rejoice before their idols.²⁹

Travelers along the Amazon repeatedly mentioned solar worship without necessarily connecting such cults with the solar cult of the Inka. However, what was at issue in Carvajal's account of Omagua sun worship

²⁷ Gaspar de Carvajal, in José Toribio Medina ed., *Descubrimiento del Río de las Amazonas según la relación hasta ahora inédita de Fr. Gaspar de Carvajal con otros documentos referentes a Francisco de Orellana* (Madrid, 1894), p. 237.

²⁸ Gaspar de Carvajal, in Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso (Biblioteca de autores españoles vol. 221, Madrid, 1959), p. 386.

²⁹ Gaspar de Carvajal, in Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso (Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol. 221, Madrid, 1959) pp. 387-388.

was not merely a broad cultural similarity between an Amazonian culture and the Inka culture, because Carvajal noted the specific ritual of pouring maize beer, which the Spanish called *chicha*, into an opening that gave access to the earth. Such libations, ritual articulations of the connection between the world above and the world below, were a regular part of Inka religious practice. But Carvajal appears not to have thought of the Inka during this encounter with an Amazonian religious observance involving the sun. Instead, what occupied him here and elsewhere on his long journey along the Amazon was the future possibility of founding Spanish settlements, and of perhaps finding precious metals and those elusive "great cities inland," cities belonging to an empire rivaling that of the Inka.

The lure of some hidden empire of untold wealth and splendor colored European ideas not only about the Amazon and the Río de la Plata but also about Venezuela, the Orinoco, and the New Kingdom of Granada (Colombia). In origin, this idea had nothing to do with the Inka. Rather, it arose from Columbus's expectation that he would find the land of Cathay, which European travelers had sought during earlier centuries. Treasures sent to Seville by the invaders of the Inka empire merely reinforced the vigor of this idea. It served as one of several organizing principles underlying European ethnographic perceptions of South America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With such legends in mind, early European travelers along the Amazon (unlike later anthropologists) experienced little surprise that so inhospitable and inaccessible an ecology should have generated cultures of affluence and sophistication, because these cultures were simply thought of as outposts of an as yet undiscovered great civilization.

Such a civilization also figured prominently in the thoughts of Europeans who approached the South American continent from the Caribbean littoral. Between 1530 and 1546, German officials and soldiers of fortune undertook several expeditions to the interior. They had heard that a great empire awaited somewhere on the Meta River, a tributary of the Orinoco. It was thanks to this obsession, and the absence of a shared language, that the indigenous world remained somewhat alien and remote from these men. As one of their number, Nicholas Federmann, wrote about his expedition south of Coro, undertaken in 1530:

Traversing 73 miles, we encountered five nations, each of whom spoke a separate language, whence you will understand with what difficulty we communicated

until we reached the Caquetíos Indians. For the language of the Caquetíos, I had with me two competent Christian translators. But among the Xideharas, we were constrained to communicate with help of two additional translators, among the Ayamanes with three, among the Cayones with four, and among the Xaguas with five different persons. And thus, without a doubt, before my statements had been translated into the fifth language, each of these men will have added or taken away something of what I had said, so that of every ten words that I spoke, hardly a single one will have been rendered according to my desire and our needs. This was no small hindrance in our endeavor to understand the secrets of the land through which we were journeying.³⁰

Meanwhile, amidst general destruction, the Spanish worked their way inland from different sites including the Orinoco estuary, sending reports of their activities home to Spain. The authors and many of their reports along with materials and persons from all parts of Spanish America were examined by the historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, who, after a long career in the Indies, became governor of the fortress of Santo Domingo and resided there from 1533 until his death in 1557. All Spanish traffic to and from America passed through this island, and little of it escaped Oviedo's notice. He brought to his descriptions of indigenous societies not only a bent for the particular and the specific, for the characterizing marks of any given culture, but also his own wide-ranging personal culture, acquired in a lifetime of study, travel, and service to the Spanish crown. And he had chances to interview witnesses whose expertise nobody else tapped. As a result, Fernández de Oviedo was able to dispense with empires so far undiscovered as an ethnographic category. Instead, he resorted to the encyclopedic *Natural History* of the Elder Pliny, to ethnographic writings of classical antiquity, to the historical record of medieval Spain, and to his own experience by way of describing and classifying the New World.

Having read in Caesar's *Galllic War* that the ancient Britons painted their bodies, Fernández de Oviedo described this same custom as practiced south of Coro by the Guiriguana Indians, whose women "paint their breasts and arms with most handsome designs in indelible black. And how can we blame them," Oviedo continued, "when we look at other nations of the world who are now prosperous and live in a Christian republic, like the English of whom Julius Caesar writes?" On another occasion, he heard of body painting among the Indians of Caboruto on

³⁰ Nicolas Federmann, "Indianische Historia," in Arnold Federmann, *Deutsche Konquistadoren in Südamerika* (Berlin, 1938), pp. 112–113.

the Orinoco and was reminded of a North African parallel, bearing in mind all the time that painting the body was considered to be "a matter of elegance" and ought to be appreciated as such. Similarly, where Vaz de Caminha, Léry, and others had asked themselves why the Tupinamba felt no shame at being naked, Fernández de Oviedo viewed nudity as a matter of cultural convention. As a result, he thought that the cords being worn by women among the Onoto and Guiriguiri Indians on Lake Maracaibo in effect performed exactly the same function as elaborate European clothing. "Behind this wall," he explained, "their private parts are very well hidden."

Fernández de Oviedo's many comparisons between America and other parts of the world during different periods of their historical development enabled him to integrate what was new about the "New World" into a known and intelligible scheme of things. But that is only half the story. For in effect, these comparisons, and the tradition of encyclopedic history within which he wrote, provided Oviedo with a framework that was sufficiently capacious to take stock of a very large body of information without either losing track of his overall design or getting cramped by his own categories. A case in point is his descriptions of indigenous methods of predicting the future and curing diseases. Like other learned Europeans of his time, Oviedo did not believe these methods to be efficacious; he thought them a form of magic. However, having read Pliny's discussion about the ubiquity and power of the magic arts, which combined into a single fabric the persuasive force of medicine, religion, and astrology, Oviedo was able to describe "magic" as practiced in the Americas with considerable insight and acumen. Consider his account of a ritual of curing among the same Caquetos Indians, about whom Federmann had not been able to learn a great deal. The story opens with a conversation between shaman and patient in which the patient declares that he is sick, that he wishes to be cured, and that he believes the shaman to be capable of curing him. The issue here is that Oviedo understood very clearly that the cure was a communal transaction – that is, it could not work unless the patient both cooperated and believed in the practicing shaman's power, and unless the performance of the curing ritual, which could last several days, was reinforced by sustained group participation. This was why the cure had to be preceded by a collective fast and was performed with much shouting and display. At the same time, the shaman's reputation had to be protected for the future. If the

patient did not get better, the shaman would at a certain point abandon him explicitly and publicly by declaring that he had received a prophetic insight that no cure was possible, and with these words "he takes his leave and departs."

While at many junctures Fernández de Oviedo's wide reading guided his selection and presentation of South American materials, at other times he drew on his own understanding of the indigenous world. He set little store by stories that Europeans claimed to have picked up from Indians about some undiscovered wealthy empire, instead explaining such stories by reference to European greed. Among the reasons that Oviedo gave no credence to such stories was his own understanding of the sheer diversity of indigenous cultures. An example is his discussion of the Arawak and Carib nations of the Orinoco and Venezuela at large (see Chaps. 8 and 11). As Fernández de Oviedo understood matters, the two groups were bitter enemies and were in addition distinguishable by their customs. For example, he thought that the Caribs ate their captive enemies, while the Arawak made slaves of them. But the position was complicated, because Oviedo was uncertain whether the Aruacay people, also at home on the Orinoco River, were to be included among the Arawak. "I used to think," he wrote, "that the Arawak were from the settlement of Aruacay, and then, with time, I changed my mind. Whatever the position may be, I will give the information that is available about the Arawak." With this caution, he foresaw the hazards in European tendencies to pigeon-hole peoples in "Arawak" and similar pigeonholes. In short, Fernández de Oviedo recognized quite explicitly the difficulty that the Spanish and others encountered in distinguishing the many different indigenous peoples of Venezuela whose languages and cultures they only partially understood, and he endeavored as best he was able to make allowance for this difficulty.

Oviedo's distinction between Arawak and Caribs was, so it seemed, confirmed a few years later when a response to an official enquiry revealed that the Arawak considered themselves to be newcomers to the Orinoco region. They thought it had formerly been inhabited only by Caribs:

They say that they came in ships from where the sun rises and sailed along the coast and because they found that these rivers were so productive of food crops, they sailed along them and made friends with the Caribs who possessed the land. But then, seeing the evil customs of the Caribs and that they ate other Indians, the Arawak rose up against them and in great wars drove them from

these same rivers and themselves remained as possessors and settlers. And so, today, they occupy the low lying territory and by warfare they manage to take the best land which formerly the Caribs occupied.

The same official enquiry recorded some Arawak religious beliefs, which resonate with themes that are familiar from other parts of South America. These traditions included a divine origin in the sky via cosmogonies that comprise both a male and a female dimension, and the ethical behest of not hoarding property:

Their belief and adoration is the sky, because they say that in the upper sky live a great lord and a great lady. They say that this great lord creates them and sends them water to the earth in order to create for them all the things which are on the earth. And they say that if an Arawak dies, and he is good, his soul, which they call *gauche*, goes up to this great lord, and he who has been evil, his soul is taken by *Camurepitian*, which is how they call the devil. I asked them what an Arawak has to do to be good, and they say that he must not kill another Arawak, and not deny his property to him who asks for it, and to those who arrive at his house he must give something to eat. He must not take the possessions or wife of another Arawak, and must always live in peace and friendship with the other Arawak. Those who do this, their souls go to *Huburiri*, who is the great lord they mention.³¹

Oviedo thought that Arawak ear ornaments resembled those of the Inka. Perhaps it was observations such as this, along with the belief that the land of El Dorado must after all exist, that led the Englishman Sir Walter Raleigh to stick, through thick and thin, to his conviction that a remnant of the Inka had escaped from Peru and had founded in Guiana an empire even more splendid than their Andean one. In 1595, Raleigh undertook, in the name of Queen Elizabeth I, an expedition along the Orinoco that was designed to reach this empire; he came away believing that he had almost reached it, and that all that was needed was a simple further expedition. Having read and conflated the accounts of the Inka by Gómara, who had never left Europe, and by Cieza de León, who knew the Andes very well, Raleigh reached the conclusion that like Orellana, some surviving Inka had sailed down the Amazon River and had settled in Guiana. Confirmation of this story came from an aged Indian lord, with whom Raleigh conversed through an interpreter, who said that the lord

remembered in his father's lifetime when he was very old, and himself a young man that there came down into that large valley of Guiana, a nation from so far off as the Sun slept (for such were his own words), with so great a multitude as they could not be numbered nor resisted, and that they wore large coats, and hats of crimson color, which color he expressed, by shewing a piece of red wood, wherewith my tent was supported, and that they were called Oreiones and Epuremei, those that had slain and rooted out so many of the ancient people as there were leaves in the wood upon all the trees and had now made themselves Lords of all.³²

The "large coats," remembered by people who, as the Spanish put it "went naked," might have invited Raleigh to think of the fine Andean cloth mentioned in the Spanish sources he had read. The "hats of crimson color" may enshrine a memory of the crimson headband of sovereignty worn by Inka rulers. Finally, *orejones*, "long ears," was the term with which the Spanish often referred to Inka nobles because of the large ear spools they wore as a token of their status. And yet, Raleigh's fixed idea about an Inka empire in exile in Guiana may have much less to do with South American cultural and political history than it does with perennial attempts by outsiders at finding some principle of coherence and intelligibility in the continent's configuration.

REVIEWING THE PAST: ETHNOGRAPHY AS HISTORY

Almost always we learn about South American cultures during and following the period of contact through European voices, although on occasion it is possible to hear an indigenous voice within European narratives. Meanwhile, however, children were being born of unions between Europeans, especially Spaniards, and indigenous women. Other children were born of Spaniards for whom South America had become home. Some of the men among the early Euro-American generation in due course put pen to paper and wrote histories of their *patrias*, their homeland, where *patria* refers not to all of South America but to the regions, later to become nation-states, carved out during the period of invasion and settlement. In addition, we have a small body of Andean texts by men of indigenous ancestry and culture who wrote in order to take stock of the mythic and historical past of their own people and of

³² Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the large, rich and beautiful empire of Guiana, with a relation of the great and Golden Cities of Manoa (which the Spaniards call El Dorado)* (London, 1596; Amsterdam, 1968), p. 63.

³¹ This and the preceding quotation come from Rodrigo Navarrete and Antonio Barbudo, "Relación de las provincias y naciones de los Indios . . . Aruacos," in Antonio Arellano Moreno ed., *Relaciones geográficas de Venezuela* (Caracas, 1974), pp. 84–85.

the destiny of these people under Spanish government. The official enquiries that had been undertaken on behalf of the Spanish crown during the second half of the sixteenth century, in order to organize the new colonial government, had been discontinued by the time the new century dawned: What information was wanted had been gathered. However, beginning in the earlier seventeenth century, the church organized its own set of enquiries, which were designed to reveal and "extirpate" indigenous religious ideas and practices. Customarily, the statements of Andean witnesses were recorded at length, albeit in Spanish translation. These documents give a unique insight into the ideas and actions of Andean people during this period.

Put differently, the religious, cultural, and political life of South America changed radically during the century that followed the first European landfall in Brazil, and concurrently, the nature and content of the written documents that were being produced also changed. Most of the sixteenth-century sources were written with a certain naiveté, a conviction that – notwithstanding all that was new, hard to describe, and hard to understand – it was genuinely possible to record something worth knowing and knowable. This conviction is absent in the later documentation. Instead, information was recorded, for a variety of different reasons, to correct earlier misapprehensions, to fill in missing items, and to explain what had remained unintelligible. From the vantage point of indigenous people, what had remained unintelligible was first of all the European invasion in itself, above all its destructive character. Pondering this problem led not only to a rethinking of the events but also to a series of new descriptions of indigenous cultures. Let us begin with the events.

Some sixteenth-century Spanish jurists and theologians, above all the Dominican friar Francisco Vitoria, who taught in Salamanca, had condemned armed aggression and found little to recommend in the Spanish wars of conquest in the Americas. It was in the face of such opinions that a number of historians of the "deeds of the Spanish in the Americas" sought to show that the *conquistadores* had often fought in self-defense, for sheer survival, and for long-term peace and prosperity.

By the early seventeenth century, it had become very clear that indigenous people in South America did not agree. The Andean nobleman Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, who completed a history of Peru in circa 1615, thus reported that his grandfather had been sent by the Inka as a peaceful emissary to meet the approaching Spaniards and to supply them with whatever they needed. A similar account, apparently

written a little later, comes from Don Joan Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, a nobleman from the vicinity of Cusco, who described not only how his ancestor met the Spanish on behalf of the Inka but also how the Spanish were ceremoniously welcomed in Cusco's temple of the Sun, which was thereby transformed into a Christian sanctuary. During these same years, Garcilaso Inca de la Vega, son of a *conquistador* and the granddaughter of the Inka "Tupa Yupanqui," was living in Córdoba in Andalucía. There he wrote a history of Inka and Spanish Peru, in which he reflected on the needless violence of the Spanish takeover. Peaceful coexistence would have been possible, he thought. Such reflections were not confined to historians writing in or about Peru. In 1612, Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, grandson of Domingo Martínez de Irala, governor of the Río de la Plata, completed his history of Argentina. He collected his information as much from documents as from the memories of men who had taken part in the conquest and settlement of this region. From these men, or from their descendants, he heard that before Pizarro had ever reached Peru, Spaniards setting out from the Paraná River near the coast,

entered into a province populated by a multitude of people rich in gold and silver who owned large herds of llamas, and from the wool they produced much well woven cloth. These people obeyed a great Lord who ruled over them. Since the Spanish thought it wise to place themselves under the protection of this Lord they proceeded to where he was. Arriving in his presence, they stated their errand with awe and reverence and as best they were able. They requested his friendship on behalf of His Majesty who, so they explained, was a powerful emperor on the other side of the sea who had no need of new lands and dominions but desired his alliance, only wishing them to know the true god. In this particular, the Spanish expressed themselves with much circumspection, in order not to displease that great Lord, who received their message kindly, treating them well and appreciating their customs and conversation. They stayed there many days, until they requested leave to return, which the Lord generously granted them, giving them many pieces of gold and silver and as much cloth as they were able to carry.³⁵

This account from far beyond the frontiers of the Inka empire, of a first meeting between the Spanish and the Inka ruler whom the newcomers could only dimly recognize, reformulates the actual events to allow for the possibility of an alternative, less destructive period of invasion and settlement. The story states, as if from an indigenous point of view, what Europeans, who had so far held a virtual monopoly in the creation of

³⁵ Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, *La Argentina*, E. de Gandia ed. (Madrid, 1986), p. 106.

written historical narratives, did not know. More such stories followed. Garcilaso de la Vega and Guaman Poma both reported the death of the Inka Túpac Amaru in 1571, but with a new epilogue. According to Guaman Poma,

Don Francisco de Toledo, the viceroy, having completed his turn of duty in this kingdom of the Indies returned to Castile. When he wanted to enter to kiss the hands of his Majesty, the lord and king Philip II, the doorkeeper did not give him permission to come in. With this sorrow he went to his own house, sat down in a chair and did not eat. Thus seated he died intestate and bid farewell to this life.³⁴

Garcilaso, who wrote in Spain, told the story a little differently:

Convinced of his merits, the viceroy Toledo came before his Majesty King Philip II to kiss his hands. His Catholic Majesty who had learnt in detail all that had occurred in Peru and in particular the death of the prince Túpac Amaru did not receive the viceroy with the approval the latter expected. With a few short words he told him to return to his house because his Majesty had not sent him to Peru to kill kings but to serve them.³⁵

Historical traditions circulating in Quechua, as distinct from Spanish, communicated similar ideas, although here, it was the death of Atawallpa, sometimes fused with that of Túpac Amaru, that captured the imagination. The Quechua *Tragedy of the Death of Atawallpa*, versions of which were performed as early as the sixteenth century, thus ends with the return to Spain of Francisco Pizarro, who came into the presence of the king of Spain bringing, as a trophy, the Inka's head. To which the king responded:

What do you tell me, Pizarro?
You leave me dumbfounded.
How have you done this thing?
This face that you bring me
is my own face.
When did I command you to kill this Inka?³⁶

The alternative versions of the advent of Europeans in South America that came into existence from the later sixteenth century were more than

revisions of historical events, more also than simple wishful thinking. What was at issue was not merely events but also the presuppositions that inevitably enter into descriptions and characterizations of cultures. During the sixteenth century, Bartolomé de las Casas, Juan Gines de Sepúlveda, the Jesuit José de Acosta, and the many writers who copied from or responded to their arguments had endeavored to locate indigenous American cultures on a map of cultures worldwide and across time. Like the definition of various South American polities as *behetrias*, these comparative descriptions of cultures worldwide were experiments in the applicability of existing European and Spanish concepts of political order, religious truth, and cultural attainment to the hitherto unknown societies of the Americas.

Attentive scrutiny of the admittedly fragmentary record of indigenous responses to such writings and ideas reveals that native South Americans frequently thought that Europeans were misinformed, or were asking the wrong questions, or were making wrong assumptions. It was in the face of the widely held assumption that indigenous societies had produced nothing corresponding to the European idea of law, for example, that as early as the mid-sixteenth century, kinsfolk of the Inka Atawallpa told a Spaniard in Cusco that the Inka Pachacuti had laid down "laws and ordinances." Topics he legislated upon include the administration of the empire, the storage and distribution of surplus goods, theft, rules of marriage, and the designation of status. Other laws deal specifically with Cusco, regulating the marketing of goods, the management of accidental fires, and the care of illegitimate children. Some of these regulations were reiterated elsewhere, but without making the point that there existed a corpus of Inka law. However, this point was raised again in the early seventeenth century by both Garcilaso and Guaman Poma, and also by the Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa, who wrote a history of Peru that drew on some of Guaman Poma's information. A little later, Lucas Fernández Piedrahita, whose history of the New Kingdom of Granada comprises a number of indigenous traditions, wrote a review of laws obtaining in the prehispanic polity of Bogotá. Here, as in laws attributed to the Inka in seventeenth-century sources, Spanish and Christian ideas of what constituted law were deployed to define indigenous ones, because Andean people were interested in demonstrating to the invaders that their societies had conformed to the now-dominant culture's criteria of political order. The elaborate vocabulary covering concepts of law and justice that the lexicographer Diego Gonzalez Holguín compiled in his

³⁴ *Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno*, J. Murra, R. Adorno, J. Urioste eds. (Madrid, 1987), p. 459.

³⁵ Garcilaso Inca de la Vega, *Comentarios reales de los Incas*, ed. Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María (Biblioteca de autores españoles, 135, Madrid, 1963), p. 172.

³⁶ *Tragedia del fin de Atawallpa*, Jesus Lara ed. (Cochabamba, 1977), p. 188 (translation by Christopher Wallis).

Quechua dictionary of 1608 gives direct access to ongoing Andean traditions in this field.

Guaman Poma, like the other historians who argued for the existence of prehispanic law and legal thinking in the Andes, was a man of scholarly inclinations. The tone these historians adopted was, almost throughout, ironic, even if some of the opinions they contested were less so. Discussions about the nature of indigenous religious beliefs and practices, on the other hand, were a different matter, largely because here, Christian missionaries saw themselves, and were perceived, as rivals of indigenous bearers of religious authority. In this field, therefore, seventeenth-century indigenous revisions of established historical narratives resulted in a series of highly charged debates about the inherent worth of pre-Christian and non-Christian religious traditions persisting amid missionary Christianity. From the very moment of contact, Europeans in South America had been eager to recognize in the myths they were told, and even in some of the rituals that they observed, a certain resonance with their own Christian convictions. European retellings of myths from South America thus highlighted personages and events that seemed to echo the account of creation and human origins in the book of Genesis. This is why we are relatively well informed about figures like the Tupí creator Monan, who according to André Thévet was endowed "with the same perfections that we attribute to God," about the Tupí teacher and benefactor Maire-Monan, and about "Jeropary," whom missionaries tended to identify as the Tupí version of the devil. Jean de Léry and Yves d'Évreux, on the other hand, identified the biblical creator with the Tupí thunder deity Toupan, and this interpretation achieved long-lasting acceptance. Similarly, in the central Andes, several Spaniards focused on "Viracocha" (i.e., Wira Qucha) as in some sense equivalent to the biblical creator, while Garcilaso Inca argued at some length that the coastal deity Pacha Kamaq, whose name very roughly means 'maker of the world', was the god of whom the Christians spoke. A little later, Fernández Piedrahita recognized "an author of nature who made heaven and earth" among the Chibcha of the New Kingdom of Granada. In addition, myths dealing with prophets and culture heroes were regularly interpreted by Europeans as referring, in however indirect a way, to a Christian apostle who was thought to have reached the Americas shortly after the death of Jesus.

But there was a difficulty with all this: While recognizing some validity in indigenous concepts of deity and human origins, Europeans invariably

described indigenous teachers and ritual specialists by the term "sorcerer" or others equally derogatory. The issue was that some Europeans came to the Americas as missionaries whose claim to social and spiritual authority conflicted with that of the so-called sorcerers. As the Tupí shaman Pacamont said to Yves d'Évreux:

You should know that before you arrived, it was I who purified the people of my land, just as you do for your own people, but I did it in the name of my own spirit, and you do it in the name of God, Toupan. I breathed on the sick and they became well. They told me what wrong they had done and I prevented Jiropari, the devil, from harming them. I caused prosperous years to come and avenged myself when those who despised me fell ill.³⁷

On this basis, the shaman Pacamont thought that he should enjoy the same honors as the French missionary priests and should be admitted into their privileged society by being baptized. But Yves d'Évreux refused to perform the ceremony over him because "You are still too carnal to comprehend the Christian mysteries." This message was as unintelligible and unacceptable to Pacamont as it was to other shamans among the Tupinamba, because the assertion that they were carnal amounted to undermining the authority these men enjoyed among their own people. Put differently, Tupí shamans were being required to make way for Christian priests because, in actual practice, as distinct from theory, Tupí sacred knowledge was judged by the newcomers to be incompatible with Christian knowledge.

An analogous conflict about the status of indigenous sacred knowledge was battled out in the Andes during the early and middle decades of the seventeenth century. Here, even more explicitly than among the Tupinamba, indigenous religious specialists took upon themselves the task of redefining the scope and status of Christianity, and thus of their own religious traditions. The core of their argument was that Christianity was an appropriate religion for Spaniards, and that Andean people were obliged to observe their own established rituals and were cared for by their own deities. As Francisco Poma explained to an ecclesiastical judge in 1657, the indigenous priests of his native village San Pedro de Hacas

gather offerings from their *ayllus*, kin groups, twice a year, when they prepare to till their fields and when the maize begins to ripen. Francisco Poma himself has frequently given guinea pigs, coca, llama fat and corn beer to the priest Her-

³⁷ Yves d'Évreux, *Voyage* II, chapter 15, p. 238.

nando Hacasopoma. Hacasopoma and the other priests offer these sacrifices to the ancestral mummies and deities and then they make the public crier call the Indians *ayllu* by *ayllu* to gather in the square, where they all make their confessions before the priest of their *ayllu*. Next, their heads are washed with maize flour, and thus they are absolved and are told to fast for five days. . . . During those five days the *ayllus* invite each other, and Francisco Poma has listened to how the priests taught and preached to all men and women that those who were born Indians ought not to adore the Christian god or the saints made of wood inside the church, because these were the images and *guacas*, deities, of Spaniards. Indians had their own different protectors who were their ancestral mummies and their deities whom they must adore with sacrifices, fasting and confession, because if they do not do this they will all die and their crops will be spoilt by frost and the irrigation canals and wells will dry up.³⁸

This and many similar statements from elsewhere in the Andes testify to the ability of members of Andean priesthoods, which often included women, to confront not only Christian missionary efforts but also the cultural and political forces of hispanization. They clearly found renewed means of affirming indigenous identities. However, Andean religion, culture, and political norms had changed in over a century of colonial governance, because everything now had to be explained and justified in the face of an often critical and even hostile setting. Viewed from within an Andean universe, likewise, things were not the same. However much some individuals might wish to separate their lives and thoughts from Spanish influences, such a separation was simply no longer possible.

Take the example of writing. In the course of the sixteenth century, Europeans investigating the history and ethnography of South America had regularly commented on the difficulties of gathering information because the Indians had no writing. Some historians, like Pedro Cieza de León, thought that the Inka *quipus* were in some sense an equivalent to the Latin alphabet, while at the same time discovering that historical information stored on *quipus* did not afford the "reader" the same certainty as came from European written texts. There were thus grounds for supposing that the *quipus* did not amount to writing. As an Andean scribe wrote in Huarochiri during the early seventeenth century:

If the ancestors of the people called Indians had known writing in earlier times, then the lives they lived would not have faded from view until now. As the mighty past of the Spanish Vira Cochas is visible until now, so would theirs be.

³⁸ Pierre Duviols, *Cultura andina y represión. Procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo siglo XVII* (Cusco, 1986), pp. 188–189.

But since things are as they are, and since nothing has been written down until now, I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huarochiri people, who all descend from one forefather, what faith they held, how they live up until now, those things and more; village by village it will be written down, how they lived from their dawning age onward.³⁹

An analogous project was at this same time undertaken by Guaman Poma, who wrote the history of all of Peru "from their dawning age" until his own present. Before reaching the time of the Inka, Guaman Poma described four ages of Andean history, which he correlated with four ages of biblical history, and the scribe of Huarochiri also connected his narrative with a biblical chronology, although less explicitly.

These ideas as to how to arrange Andean histories befitted the times. In 1589, the Dutch scholar Joseph Scaliger had published his work on historical chronology, in which he examined the interrelations between all the chronological systems known to him, thereby placing the study of antiquity on an entirely new footing. This book, along with other, lesser European works on historical chronology, was available in Peruvian libraries. Such writings provide a context for the chronological awareness of Guaman Poma and the Huarochiri scribe, and for their interest in differentiating distinct historical epochs in the Andes. In short, scholarly initiatives emanating from Europe, combined with the availability of the Latin alphabet as a means of communication, fostered a new Andean awareness of the importance of remote antiquity for understanding religious and political issues of the day. As viewed by the few seventeenth-century Andean thinkers of whom we know, Europe did not in any sense abrogate Andean culture, although it did introduce different themes and ideas. This reality found graphic expression in two of Guaman Poma's drawings that juxtapose *quipus* and European writing as complementary to each other.

Guaman Poma endowed remote Andean antiquity with a face by positing distinct phases of cultural, political, and religious evolution that progressed from primitive agriculture to irrigation agriculture, to the development of crafts such as weaving, onward to an age of warfare, and then to the Inka. Spanish scholars of the time likewise were groping for an Andean antiquity that predated the Inka, and they sought to match the awesome ancient buildings that Cieza had seen at Tiahuanaco and

³⁹ Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, eds. and trans., *The Huarochiri manuscript. A testament of ancient and colonial Andean religion* (Austin, 1991), pp. 40–41.

Chavín with some form of historical narrative. It was in pursuit of such a narrative that around the mid-seventeenth century, Fernando de Montesinos collected Andean information – from what sources is not clear – about a series of dynasties predating the Inkas by way of arguing that Peru had first been populated in the time of King Solomon. This idea had been first propounded in 1578 by the Spanish biblical scholar Benito Arias Montano. It had been much elaborated upon since then and was to continue to occasion learned discussion until the end of the seventeenth century and beyond. Other scholars in South America adhered more explicitly to indigenous traditions in their endeavor to fill in the gaps left by earlier historical and ethnographic writings. In this context, the fabled figure of El Dorado surfaced once more in the work of Juan Rodríguez Freyle, who completed his history of the New Kingdom of Granada in 1636.

Like other historians of the period, Rodríguez Freyle sought out individuals who had access to information that was not otherwise known. He thus conversed with "Don Juan, lord of Guatavita, nephew of the lord who was ruling when the *conquistadores* arrived; he later succeeded his uncle and told me these antiquities." Guatavita was a sacred lake, and as Rodríguez Freyle understood it, the lord of this lake was at the same time overlord of the principality of Bogotá, in which by long tradition, the succession passed to the son of the ruler's sister, that is, matrilineally. At the time of the Spanish invasion, Don Juan was engaged in a six-year fast that was to prepare him to take up power. The fast, so Don Juan told Freyle, was followed by an elaborate ceremony of inauguration at Lake Guatavita. A raft was made ready that carried braziers of smoldering incense and perfumes, and the shores of the lake were crowded with people resplendent in their fineries. Next,

the heir was undressed, anointed with a viscous substance and powdered in gold dust, leaving him entirely covered in gold. He then boarded the raft, taking along a treasure of gold and emeralds as a sacrifice to his god. Four principal lords, also naked, accompanied him, and they were richly adorned in feather-work and golden jewels, each lord with his sacrificial offering. The raft being launched, the sound of diverse instruments, bugles and trumpets echoed through valleys and mountains and continued until those on the raft, having reached the centre of the lake, raised a flag as a sign for silence. Next, the gilded Indian offered his sacrifice, throwing all the gold at his feet into the lake, and the lords accompanying him did the same. Then they lowered the flag, and with the raft heading landward, the shouting, flutes and bugles resounded once more. With this ceremony, they received the newly elected lord as their acknowledged ruler,

and from this same ceremony was derived the famous name of El Dorado, for the sake of which so many lives and so much property have been wasted.⁴⁰

Graphic description, abounding in colorful detail, was a forte of creole historians of the earlier seventeenth century. These men studied in archives, perused earlier historical works, and supplemented their own lived experience by questioning members of the older generation. From Antonio de la Calancha, historian of the Augustinian Order in Peru, who was born in La Plata, we thus have careful descriptions of the pre-Inka and Inka oracular sanctuary of Pacha Kamaq, which he had visited, and of other ancient sites of which he had been told. In addition, Calancha was interested in Andean religious customs and beliefs, which he compared to those of classical antiquity. Alonso Ramos Gavilán, who was born in Huamanga, wrote a history of the image of Our Lady of Copacabana; the book begins with a detailed account of the pre-Inka history and culture of this pilgrimage center. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, José de Oviedo y Baños began collecting materials for his history of the conquest of Venezuela. This work also is steeped in particulars bearing on Venezuela's indigenous cultures. In Chile, the European Jesuit Alonso de Ovalle interspersed his account of Jesuit missions with frequent materials about the region's history and ethnography.

At the same time, it is not only the authors' interest in telling detail, and in South American antiquities, that differentiates these works from their sixteenth-century antecedents. When Cieza de León wrote about the Inka, and Léry wrote about the Tupinamba, these people were a living presence. Their culture could indeed be studied, but it also had to be reckoned with and accommodated. This was no longer the case as the seventeenth century drew to a close. Throughout South America, indigenous people and newcomers were increasingly separated into the two distinct "republics" that were posited in Spanish colonial legislation: place of residence, occupation, and social and cultural privilege all militated toward differentiating members of the republics of Indians and Spaniards from each other. As a result, when Europeans and creoles wrote about the history and the political and religious traditions of Indians, it was not equals that they were writing about. Rather, they wrote either about a precolombian past that was becoming ever more irrelevant in practical terms, or else about the customs, whether laudable

⁴⁰ Juan Rodríguez Freyle, *Conquista y descubrimiento del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, ed. Jaime Delgado (Madrid, 1986), pp. 67–68.

or not, of people who in a political and economic sense counted as inferiors. The following example shows what was at issue.

In 1656, Antonio León Pinelo completed a large and very erudite manuscript that discussed once again the many theories about the origin of Indians. Like Cieza, who had reflected on the cultures of Chavín and Tiahuanaco without being able to learn anything specific about them, León Pinelo felt that cultures of some kind must have existed in the Andes before the Inka. It was not only the pre-Inka ruins of Tiahuanaco that impressed him but also the Inka fortress of Sacsayhuaman, which overlooks Cusco and which was begun by the Inka Pachacuti in the later fifteenth century. But the difficulty was that León Pinelo could not imagine that an edifice on so vast and majestic a scale as Sacsayhuaman could conceivably have been built by the ancestors of the Indians he knew. He therefore concluded that it must have been built by a generation of giants who were living in the Andes before Noah's flood. Giants had long been a problem in South American ethnohistory, and from time to time, bones thought to be those of giants were discovered. León Pinelo's conclusion about Sacsayhuaman thus satisfied the exigencies of European erudition. But it did nothing to advance the study and understanding of indigenous cultures and histories.

Although León Pinelo's work on the origin of Indians remained unpublished until 1943, it does mark a shift in South American, and especially in European, attitudes toward Amerindian cultures. Cieza, Polo de Ondegardo, Garcilaso, and the many others who interested themselves in Andean history and culture had described the Inka empire as a major civilization that was in some respect comparable to European civilizations. This view was maintained independently of the fact that the Inka empire had been destroyed by the invaders. Analogously, Juan Rodríguez Freyle viewed the lord of Guatavita as the head of a significant polity, a king who ruled over other major lords. In Venezuela, likewise, José de Oviedo y Baños described indigenous lords as men of notable stature, and he gave especial attention to the tragic history of the mestizo Francisco Fajardo, son of a Spaniard and the *cacica*, ruler, of the Guaiqueri Indians on the island of Margarita.

In Europe meanwhile, from the later seventeenth century, Indians were increasingly viewed as savages, whether noble or not: as people dressed in garments made of grass, leaves, and feathers. People of this kind had not yet arrived at the capacity to distinguish fact from fiction and history from myth, and therefore could not have possessed such

cultural resources as were needed for the maintenance of reliable traditions and the formation of political societies. As a result, European study of Amerindian cultures became a very different discipline from the one that has occupied us here.

In South America, on the other hand, creole scholars and historians began to investigate what they believed to be ancient indigenous historical traditions by way of combating European criticisms of the precolumbian cultures of their homelands. In an eighteenth-century context, their ideas were considerably less "enlightened" than those of their European colleagues. Viewed from a South American standpoint, however, these ideas harmonized, at least to a certain extent, with the aspirations of Andean political leaders committed to gaining for their people the right of participating in public life as equals. And that also is a form of enlightenment.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

Introduction

Secondary works here cited may be consulted for further bibliography, most of which is not duplicated in these notes. I do, however, supply specific references to the writings of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, which document my argument, in order to help the reader gain an insight into the nature of these texts and into how I have interpreted them. Translations are my own unless otherwise noted, and for the sake of brevity, most are condensed versions of the original. Also, I have tacitly supplied necessary contextual information and adjusted wordings for greater clarity.

John Alden and Dennis C. Landis, *European Americana: A chronological guide to works printed in Europe relating to the Americas 1493-1776*, 6 vols. (New York, 1980-1988) is invaluable. The following works may be consulted for an overview of themes and materials here discussed: Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, *La población de América latina. Desde los tiempos precolumbinos al año 2025* (new revised edition, Madrid, 1994); Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early anthropology in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Philadelphia, 1964); J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New 1492-1650* (Cambridge, 1970); D. A. Brading, *The first America. The Spanish monarchy, Creole patriots and the liberal state 1492-1867* (Cambridge, 1991); Frauke Gewecke, *Wie die neue Welt in die alte kam* (Munich, 1992);

Anthony Grafton, *New worlds, ancient texts. The power of tradition and the shock of discovery* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992). *Los conquistados, 1492 y la población indígena de las Américas* (Bogotá, 1992), edited by Heráclio Bonilla, is an outstanding collection of essays; the volume *La imagen del indio en la Europa moderna* (Madrid, 1990) provides a useful survey of texts and materials, although different contributions vary in quality. Among earlier collections, see Fredi Chiapelli, *First images of America. The impact of the New World on the Old*, 2 volumes (Berkeley, 1976). The revised and expanded edition of Francisco Esteve Barba, *Historiografía Indiana. Segunda edición revisada y aumentada* (Madrid, 1992) surveys historical and other texts written in Spanish during the early colonial period. John H. Rowe, "The Renaissance Foundations of Anthropology," *American Anthropologist* 67 (1965), 1-20, remains fundamental. Arnaldo Momigliano's Sather lectures of 1961-1962, which helped to inspire this article, are now published: *The classical foundations of modern historiography* (Berkeley, 1990).

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Berichten des 16. Jahrhunderts," in Peter Waldmann and Georg Elwert, eds, *Ethnizität im Wandel. Spektrum* 21 Saarbrücken, 1989), 93-118; Donald Forsyth, "Three cheers for Hans Staden: The case for Brazilian cannibalism," *Ethnohistory* 32:1 (1985), 17-36.

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Brazil and the Guaraní

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especially, Cabeza de Vaca, *Comentarios* 7; 12; 13; 17 (women of the Agaces); 19; 23; 44; 49–50; 58; 60. The submission of the Guaycurúes is described in *Comentarios*, chapter 30.

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The Tupinamba

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"A jaguar am I" comes from Staden, *Warhaftige Historia*, Part I, chapter 44; Part II,3 on Tupinamba hunting and imitating animal noises and II,16 on Tupinamba naming their male children after wild animals. (But note that d'Abbeville, *Histoire*, chapters 32 ff., lists villages and chiefs of Maranhão indicating that many chiefs were not named after wild animals. Yves d'Évreux, *Voyage* I,20 expressed the opinion that the presence of the French in Maranhão curtailed the scope of ritual cannibalism. In claiming to be a jaguar, Quoniambec may at the same time have been claiming the powers of a shaman. See Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita, *Historia general de las conquistas del Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Bogotá, 1942), Book 1, chapter 3, p. 33 on shamans (described as *hechiceros*, 'sorcerers') appearing as jaguars. For ethnographers' views, see E. Jean Matteson Langdon and Gerhard Baer, eds., *Portals of power. Shamanism in South America* (Albuquerque, 1992).

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I, chapter 14, where the author mentions the issue explicitly; at the same time, the accounts of Indians are pervaded by comparisons to the ancient Israelites and classical antiquity too numerous to list.

On the absence of law and authority among Indians: Pero Magalhães de Gandavo, *The histories of Brazil* (tr. John B. Stetson, New York, 1922), chapter 10, repeats the refrain that Indians have no "fe, ley, rey" (faith, law, king) – indeed, that their language lacks the letters f, l, and r. The work (chapters 10–14) also provides a well-informed but, in places, judgmental survey of the Tupinamba and neighboring peoples. Cabeza de Vaca, *Comentarios*, chapter 70, "the Indian who seemed to be chief, to judge by the respect with which the Indians treated him." Ulrich Schmidel, *Reise* 44, on the Mbayá and their subjects. The term "polished nations" (*nations policées*) is used by Yves d'Évreux, *Voyage* I, chapter 14. In chapter 19, d'Évreux suggests that the Tupinamba could be taught "virtue and the sciences," which he conceptualized in Stoic terms, quoting Seneca. The thoughts of d'Abbeville ran along similar lines. On the juridical precept of Justinian and the Tupí village meeting, see d'Abbeville, *Histoire* chapter 53; in chapter 50, d'Abbeville describes the Falmouth episode, which reveals, indirectly, the contradictions between Tupinamba and European concepts of virtue.

The phrase "natural charity" is used by d'Évreux I, chapter 28; Luis Ramírez, "Carta," p. 444, also commented on the harmony of Tupí social life: "Their best quality is that they never have disagreements among each other." On Montaigne, see David Quint, "A reconsideration of Montaigne's *Des cannibales*," in K. Ordahl Kupperman ed., *America in European consciousness* (Chapel Hill, 1994), 166–191. Jean de Léry himself described the siege of Sançerre in *Histoire mémorable de la ville de Sançerre. Contenant les entreprises, siège, approches . . . et autres efforts des assiégés: les résistances . . . la famine extrême et deliurance notable des assiégés . . .* (La Rochelle, 1574), see chapter 10 on eating human flesh; see also Geralde Nakham, *Au lendemain de la Saint-Barthelemy. Guerre civile et famine* (Paris, 1975).

On reason of state, see Friedrich Meinecke's classic, *Machiavellism; The doctrine of raison d'état and its place in modern history* (London, 1957); Pierre Clastres, *Society against the State. Essays in political anthropology* (New York, 1989) is a pioneering work of lasting significance on Amerindian political and social thought; further, on the creation of social order without the formation of a state, Fernando Santos-Granero, *The power of love: The moral use of knowledge amongst the Amuesha of central*

Peru (London, 1991); see also Elizabeth Rawson, *The Spartan tradition in European thought* (Oxford, 1969), especially chapter 12.

Tawantinsuyu: The Empire of the Four Parts and Its Neighbors

For a survey of Spanish historians of South America, see Francisco Esteve Barba, *Historiografía Indiana* chapters 7–10. D. A. Brading, *The first America*, about all of Spanish America, contains helpful chapters about the vicerealty of Peru and its successor nations.

Blasco Núñez de Balboa surveying the Pacific Ocean was remembered by Antonio de la Calancha, *Corónica moralizada del Orden de San Agustín en el Perú* (Barcelona, 1639; Lima, 1974), Book I, chapter 4; see on this episode and early expeditions in search of the Inka empire, John V. Murra, “‘Nos hazen mucha ventaja.’ The early European perception of Andean achievement,” in K. Andrien and R. Adorno, eds., *Transatlantic encounters. Europeans and Andeans in the sixteenth century* (Berkeley, 1991), 73–89.

Pascual de Andagoya, *Relación y documentos*, ed. Adrián Blásquez (Madrid, 1986); the capture of the trading raft in 1525 was described in the so-called *Relación Samano*, which is reproduced, along with the *Relación* by Diego de Trujillo in the volume Francisco de Xérez, *Verdad era relación de la conquista del Perú*, ed. Concepción Bravo (Madrid, 1985). Another detailed description of a trading raft sighted off the north coast of Peru appears in Miguel de Estete, *Noticia del Perú*, in H. H. Urteaga and D. Angulo, eds., *Historia de los Incas y conquista del Perú* (Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú, 2nd series, vol. 8, Lima, 1924). The work of Raúl Porras Barrenechea remains fundamental for the study of early Peruvian historiography and ethnography; see, in particular, Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Las relaciones primitivas de la conquista del Perú* (Paris, 1937) and his *Los cronistas del Perú (1528–1650) y otros ensayos*, ed. Franklin Pease G. Y. (Lima, 1986). Philip Ainsworth Means, *Biblioteca Andina* (New Haven, 1928; Detroit, 1973), remains valuable.

Infante Don Juan Manuel, *Libro de los estados*, ed. R. B. Tate and I. R. McPherson (Oxford, 1974); see Alain Milhou, “El indio americano y el mito de la religión natural,” in *La imagen del indio en la Europa moderna* (Madrid, 1990), 179–196. On *behetría*, see Alfonso X of Castile, *Siete Partidas*, partida 4, title 25 law 3, and eds. Ignacio Jordán de Asso y del Río and Miguel de Manuel y Rodríguez, *El fuero viejo de Castilla*

(Madrid, 1771), Book I, title 8. On the functioning of *behetrias* in late medieval and sixteenth-century Spain, see A. Moreno Ollero, “Una *behetría* ‘de mar a mar’ en el siglo XVI: Melgar de Fernamental,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 19 (1989), 731–741. The comparison between *behetría* and the Inka empire by Pedro Cieza de León is in his *Crónica del Perú. Primera parte* (Lima, 1984), chapter 13, see also chapter 36; for a discussion, see Frank Salomon, *Native lords of Quito in the age of the Incas. The political economy of north Andean chiefdoms* (Cambridge, 1986), 21 ff.; I have consulted Salomon’s translation of the passages from Cieza in making my own. See further, Jean-Paul Deler, *Genèse de l’espace équatorien. Essai sur le territoire et la formation de l’état national* (Paris, 1981) and Segundo Moreno Yáñez, ed., *Pichincha. Monografía histórica de la región nuclear ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1981). On terminology such as “*mezquita*,” see S. McCormack, “The fall of the Incas: A historiographical dilemma,” *History of European Ideas* 6 (1985), 421–445.

Research on the Inka and Andean cultures in general is proceeding apace; J. V. Murra, *The economic organization of the Inca state* (Greenwich, 1980, a published version of his 1955 dissertation) is a landmark. The following collections present important work by various scholars: G. Collier, R. I. Rosaldo, and J. D. Wirth, eds., *The Inca and Aztec states 1400–1800. Anthropology and history* (New York, 1982); J. V. Murra, N. Wachtel, and J. Revel, eds., *Anthropological history of Andean politics* (Cambridge, 1986); S. Masuda, I. Shimada, and C. Morris, *Andean ecology and civilisation. An interdisciplinary perspective on Andean ecological complementarity* (Tokyo, 1985); John Hemming, *The conquest of the Incas* (New York, 1970) is both gripping and superbly documented. For historiography, see Franklin Pease G. Y., *Las Crónicas y los Andes* (México, 1995).

Episodes in Inka courtly ceremonial are described in several accounts of the capture of Atawallpa in Cajamarca. These include: the *Relación* of Francisco de Xérez; the *Relación* by Diego de Trujillo; the *Relación* by Juan Ruiz de Arce; Estete’s *Noticia* (all cited above); further information appears in ed. A. Pogo, The Anonymous *La conquista del Perú. Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 64 (1930); Pedro Pizarro, *Relación del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú*, ed. G. Lohmann Villena (Lima, 1978); Juan de Betanzos, *Suma y narración de los Incas* (Madrid, 1987); Pedro Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú. Segunda Parte* (Lima, 1985). The account of the death of Túpac Amaru is by Antonio Bautista de Salazar, in *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos*

al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, vol. 8 (Madrid, 1867), 278 ff., passim.

On Andean *bebetrias* before the Inka, see Cieza's *Crónica del Perú. Segunda parte*, ed. F. Cantù (Lima, 1985), chapter 4; Juan Polo de Ondegardo, "Notables daños de no guardar a los Indios sus fueros," in *El mundo de los Incas*, ed. Laura González and Alicia Alonso (Madrid, 1990), chapter 1. Hernando Sanillán's statement about the Inka's houses and fields is from his *Relación in Crónicas peruanas de interés indígena* ed. E. Barba (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 209, Madrid, 1968), section 3. For a particularly insistent statement (with which Viceroy Toledo would likely have disagreed) contrasting the Inka as "natural lords of Cusco" and *bebetrias* South of Quito, where no "general lords" were to be found, see "Descubrimientos, conquistas y poblaciones de Juan de Salinas Loyola" [1571] in *Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Perú* ed. M. Jiménez de la Espada, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 185 (Madrid, 1965), 197–204. For Tawantinsuyu as "all of Peru or the four parts of it, which are Ante suyu, Collasuyu, Conti suyu and Chinchay suyu," see González Holguín, *Vocabulario* p. 336; Franklin Pease G. Y., *Del Tawantinsuyu a la historia del Perú* (Lima, 1989). Pedro Cieza de León's reflections about the delegation of authority in the Inka empire are in his *Crónica del Perú. Segunda Parte*, ed. Francesca Cantù (Lima, 1985), chapter 12.

On natural lords, consult R. S. Chamberlain, "The concept of the señor natural as revealed by Castilian law and administrative documents," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 19 (1939), 130–137. For Viceroy Toledo's inquiries, see ed. M. Jiménez de la Espada, *Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú, por el licenciado D. Fernando de Montesinos, seguidas de las informaciones acerca del señorio de los Incas hechas por . . . D. Francisco de Toledo* (Madrid, 1882). The quotes are from 224f.; 254. On *kipus*, see the important article of Gary Urton, "A new twist in an old yarn: Variation in knot directionality in the Inka *kipus*," *Baessler-Archiv Neue Folge Band XLII* (1994), 271–305.

Pedro Cieza de León's description of Cusco appears in his *Crónica del Perú. Primera Parte*, chapter 92; in *Crónica del Perú. Segunda Parte*, chapter 32, Cieza mentions the possibility that one Inka ruled in Hanan Cusco and another in Urin Cusco; see P. Duviols, "La dinastía de los Incas: monarquía o diarquía? Argumentos heurísticos a favor de una tesis estructuralista," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 64 (1979), 67–83. Garcilaso Inca de la Vega's account of the foundation of Cusco is in his

Royal Commentaries of the Incas (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 133, Madrid 1963; English translation by H. Livermore, Austin, 1970), book 1, chapter 16. R. T. Zuidema, *The ceque system of Cuzco. The social organization of the capital of the Inca* (Leiden, 1964), has oriented almost all subsequent research on the topic. See further, J. H. Rowe, "An account of the shrines of ancient Cuzco," *Naupa Pacha* 17 (1979), 1–80. The account of Yanqui and Lare is in the "Relación de la provincia de los Collaguas para la descripción de las Indias que Su Magestad manda hacer," in ed. M. Jiménez de la Espada, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Perú* (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 183, Madrid, 1965), p. 329. For the Collaguas region, see Paul H. Gelles, "Channels of power, fields of contention: The politics of irrigation and land recovery in an Andean peasant community," in W. P. Mitchell and D. Guillet eds., *Irrigation at high altitudes: The social organization of water control systems in the Andes* (Society for Latin American Anthropology Publication Series, vol. 12, 1993), 233–273; see also, in the *Irrigation* volume, Jeanette Sherbondy's "Water and Power: The role of irrigation districts in the transition from Inca to Spanish Cusco," 69–97. See also Susan E. Ramírez, *The World upside down. Cross-cultural contact and conflict in sixteenth-century Peru* (Stanford, 1996). Don Martin Cari's answers to the inspectors of Chucuito are in ed. W. Espinoza Soriano, *Visita hecha a la provincia de Chucuito por Garci Diez de San Miguel en el año 1567* (Lima, 1964), 14–15. Dual organization in the Andes predates the Incas: see R. Burger and L. Salazar-Burger, "The place of dual organization in early Andean ceremonialism: A comparative review," in L. Millones and Y. Onuki eds., *El mundo ceremonial andino. Senri Ethnological Studies* 37 (Osaka, 1993), 97–116. In the same volume, see G. Urton, "Moieties and ceremonialism in the Andes: The ritual battles of the carnival season in southern Peru," 117–142. María Rostworowski, *Estructuras andinas del Poder. Ideología religiosa y política* (Lima, 1983) surveys a large body of material on dual organization under the Inka and during the early colonial period. See also her "Estratificación social y el Hatun Curaca en el mundo andino," in her *Ensayos de historia andina. Elites, etnias, recursos* (Lima, 1993), 41–88. Further resources are Patricia Netherly, "Organization through opposition. Dual division and quadripartition on the north coast of Peru," *Working Papers on South American Indians* no. 4 (Bennington, Vt., 1984). On dual organization in the contemporary Andes, see Salvador Palomino Flores, "La dualidad en la organización socio-cultural de algunos pueblos del area andina," *XXXIX Congreso Internacional de Americanistas. Lima*

1970, *Actas y Memorias*, vol. 3 (*Revista del Museo Nacional*, vol. 37, Lima, 1971), 231–260.

For the connection between Inka reverses in Paraguay and Viceroy Toledo's campaign in the same region, see Combès and Saignes, *Alter Ego*, 135–142. This work includes a French translation of Polo's *Informe*, addressed to the viceroy (the Spanish original being in Ricardo Mujía, *Bolivia-Paraguay. Anexos*, vol. II [La Paz, 1914], 82–98). On Inka and Spanish reverses in Chile, see Garcilaso Inca de la Vega, *Royal commentaries of the Incas*, translated by H. Livermore (Austin, 1966), Book 7, chapters 18–25. About Inka campaigns south to the River Maule, see Jerónimo de Vivar, *Crónica de los reinos de Chile*, ed. A. Barral Gómez (Madrid, 1988), chapter 93. In chapters 13 and 27, Vivar describes Quechua as a *lingua franca* in the part of Chile that the Inkas had controlled. In chapter 104, Vivar suggests the Indians of Concepción displayed bravery rivaling that of the ancient Iberians who fought Rome. On Ercilla's *Araucana*, Jaime Concha, see "El otro Nuevo Mundo," in *Homenaje a Ercilla* (Universidad de Concepción, 1969), 31–82; also Victor Raviola, "Elementos indígenas en 'La Araucana' de Ercilla," in *Don Alonso de Ercilla. Inventor de Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1971), 81–136. On the continuity of Inka and Spanish colonial political and cultural frontiers, see F. M. Rénard-Casevitz, Th. Saignes, and A. C. Taylor-Descola, *L'inca, l'espagnol et les sauvages* (Paris, 1986). Alonso de Ovalle S. J., *Historica relación del Reyno de Chile y de las misiones, y ministerios que exercita en el la Compañía de Jesús* (Rome, 1646), book I, provides an important historical and ethnographic survey of Chile, stressing Indian bravery; note especially chapter 2, which comments on Ercilla. See also José Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo Mapuche (Siglo XIX y XX)* (Santiago de Chile, 1985), for its substantial introductory chapter on the colonial period.

On funerary observances: Pascual de Andagoya, *Relación*, p. 92; Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, book 25, chapter 9 (in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 119, Madrid, 1959, p. 33); Cieza de León, *Primera Parte*, chapters 16; 19; 28; Francisco de Figueroa in Francisco de Figueroa, Cristóbal de Acuña and others, *Informaciones de jesuitas en el Amazonas 1660–1684* (Iquitos, 1986), 286. For Chile, Jerónimo de Vivar, *Crónica de los reinos de Chile*, ed. A. Barral Gómez (Madrid, 1988), chapters 8; 11; 17; 22; 90; 105; 110. This work was completed in 1558 and abounds in first-hand ethnographic information.

The deceased Inka in the convent of the chosen women (Acllahuasi) are described in *The Anonymous La Conquista del Perú*, ed. A. Pogo, *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 64: 8 (1930), 255 ff. Garcilaso Inca de la Vega was shown five of the royal bodies by Polo de Ondegardo in 1560. See *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, Part I, Book 5, chapter 29; Book 8, chapter 8. For featherwork spread out where the Inka ruler would walk, see Cristóbal de Molina in *Fábulas y mitos de los Incas*, ed. H. Urbano and P. Duviols (Madrid, 1989), 71 (month of May). Also relevant are Cabeza de Vaca, *Comentarios*, chapters 11; 13 and Ulrich Schmidel, *Alemanes*, chapter 36. On age groups and organization of work, see d'Évieux, *Voyage I*, chapters 3; 13; 21–22; Vivar, *Crónica*, chapter 105; Inka age groups are discussed by J. H. Rowe, "The age-grades of the Inca census," *Miscelanea Paul Rivet octogenario dicata*, vol. II (México D. F., 1958), 499–522. A large-scale study, with useful documentation, of patterns of social and religious perceptions and practices that span South America is by Lawrence Sullivan, *Incahu's drum. An orientation to meaning in South American religions* (New York, 1989). For an important earlier commentary on aspects of social organization to be encountered across South America (specifically among the Bororo of Brazil and among the Inka), see R. T. Zuidema, *The ceque system of Cuzco. The social organization of the capital of the Inca* (Leiden, 1964), 21–22; 242–246.

The Amazon River and Venezuela

On prehispanic Colombia, see G. Reichel-Dolmatoff, *Arqueología de Colombia. Un texto introductorio* (Bogotá, 1986); on Spanish penetration, Jane M. Rausch, *A tropical plains frontier. The llanos of Colombia 1531–1831* (Albuquerque, 1984); the opening chapter of Anthony McFarlane, *Colombia before independence. Economy, society and politics under Bourbon rule* (Cambridge, 1993) is also useful; David Block, *Mission culture on the upper Amazon. Native tradition, Jesuit enterprise, and secular policy in Moxos 1660–1880* (Lincoln, 1994) makes good on the promise of its title. Anna Curtenius Roosevelt, *Parmana. Prehistoric maize and manioc subsistence along the Amazon and Orinoco* (New York, 1980) is an excellent survey of the earlier literature on Amazonian cultures. The work argues that the populous settlements along the Amazon and Orinoco rivers that figure so regularly in the ethnohistorical literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were sustained by the cultivation of maize alongside

the less nutritious manioc. This thesis is amply confirmed by Gaspar de Carvajal and other travelers along the Amazon who frequently mention maize as one of the food items that they obtained from Indians.

Gaspar de Carvajal's account of Orellana's voyage survives in two recensions that are similar but not identical. One was published by José Toribio Medina as *Descubrimiento del Río de las Amazonas según la relación hasta ahora inédita de Fr. Gaspar de Carvajal con otros documentos referentes a Francisco de Orellana* (Madrid, 1894, hereafter cited as Carvajal-Medina). The other recension was reproduced by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo in his *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, book 50, chapter 24 (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 121, Madrid, 1959), 323-402 (hereafter cited as Carvajal-Oviedo). On the Amazons, Carvajal-Medina 262-265; Carvajal-Oviedo 392; 394; Cristóbal de Acuña in *Informaciones de Jesuitas en el Amazonas*, 71 ff.; the golden lake is mentioned on p. 60. Tirso de Molina's *Amazonas en las Indias*, part of his Pizarro trilogy, was first published in 1635 and appears in his *Obras dramáticas completas* (Madrid, 1968), 697-734. Shortly after Orellana, having completed his voyage down the Amazon River, arrived in Santo Domingo, the Italian traveler Galeotto Cei, who was also on the island at this time, heard about the voyage and the Amazons. Cei did not find Amazons credible but suggested, sensibly, that "these Indian women go to war with their husbands, carrying their arms and assisting them, just as the Germans and the Swiss do." See Francesco Surdich ed., *Viaggio e relazione delle Indie (1539-1553)*. Galeotto Cei (Rome, 1992), p. 58.

On Orellana's alphabetized word lists, consult Carvajal-Medina 262 or Carvajal-Oviedo 379, where these dictionaries, which appear not to have survived, are described as *abecedarios*. Domingo de Santo Tomás, *Gramática o arte de la lengua general de los Indios de los reynos del Perú*, introduction and transcription by Rodolfo Cerrón Palomino (Madrid, 1994; the accompanying facsimile reproduces both the grammar and the lexicon). For further references to works on Quechua, see Bruce Mannheim, *The language of the Inka since the European invasion* (Austin, 1991); the linguistic researches of Claude d'Abbeville are embedded in his *Histoire of the Tupinamba*. See further, Antonio Tovar and Consuelo Larueca de Tovar, *Catálogo de las lenguas de América del Sur* (Madrid, 1984). Its bibliography includes works published during the colonial period.) Other important references include Cesium Loukora, *Clasificación of South American Indian languages* (Los Angeles, 1968); Harriet E. Manelis Klein and Louisa R. Stark, eds. *South American Indian languages*.

Retrospect and prospect (Austin, 1985); Mary Ritchie Key, *Language change in South American Indian languages* (Philadelphia, 1991); eds. R. Escary and others, *Actas del Congreso Internacional de Historiografía Lingüística. Nebrija V Centenario. Volumen II: Nebrija y las Lenguas Amerindias* (Murcia, 1994).

For the Aparia episode, see Carvajal-Medina 222-230; Carvajal-Oviedo 377-378; on dual organization among Amazonian peoples, see Claude Lévi-Strauss, "Les structures sociales dans le Brésil central et oriental," and his, "Les organisations dualistes, existent-elles?" both in his *Anthropologie structurale* (Paris, 1978), 133-145; 147-180, respectively. See also David Maybury-Lewis, "The analysis of dual organizations: A methodological critique," with the response by Claude Lévi-Strauss, "On manipulated sociological models," in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 116 (1960), 17-54. Discussion continues in David Maybury-Lewis ed., *Dialectical societies. The Gê and Bororo of central Brazil* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); Jon Christopher Crocker, *Vital souls. Bororo cosmology, natural symbolism, and shamanism* (Tucson, 1985).

Regarding food storage, see Carvajal-Oviedo 383; 390; "parrots for the pot," p. 379. See also Francisco Vásquez, *El Dorado: Crónica de la expedición de Pedro de Urrúa y Lope de Aguirre* (Madrid, 1987), 69; *Relación del descubrimiento del Río de las Amazonas* in Rafael Díaz, ed. *La aventura del Amazonas* (Madrid, 1986), 234. This evidence, which could easily be expanded, merits consideration in regard to Anna Curtenius Roosevelt's comments (see above) on the difficulties of storing food in the humid Amazonian climate. Regarding orchards, see Carvajal-Oviedo p. 386; cultivated fields, Carvajal-Medina p. 261. For Machiparo military display, consult Carvajal-Medina p. 237; on the Omagua, p. 246, or Carvajal-Oviedo p. 386. The sculpted relief with tower and lions appears in Carvajal-Oviedo 387 ff. On *chicha* poured through an opening into the earth, see R. T. Zuidema, "El Ushnu," in José Alcina Franch ed., *Economía y sociedad en los Andes y Mesoamérica (Revista de la Universidad Complutense* 28, Madrid, 1979), 317-362.

On the Germans in Venezuela, see M. M. Lacas, "A sixteenth century German colonizing venture in Venezuela," *The Americas* 9 (1952-53), 275-290. Juan Fricde, *Los Welser en la conquista de Venezuela* (Caracas, 1961) is a major documented study. One chapter of this work was published in English (but without the relevant reproductions of maps from the book) as "Geographical ideas and the conquest of Venezuela," *The Americas* 16 (1959-60), 145-159. Nicolás Federmann's account of his

expedition, published in 1557 as *Indianische Historia*, appears in Arnold Federmann, *Deutsche Konquistadoren in Südamerika* (Berlin, 1938), 81–160; the passage here translated and quoted is on 112 f. A Spanish version appears in L. L. López trans. *N. Federmann; U. Schmidl. Alemanes en America* (Madrid, 1985); for the quotation, see chapter 8. Problems of translation are a classic theme in early writings about the Americas. See S. McCormack, “Arahualpa and the Book,” *Dispositio. Revista Americana de Estudios Semióticos y Culturales* 14 (1989), 141–168.

The cited passages about body painting and nudity are from Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, book 25,1; book 24,9 and book 25,9 (ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vols. 117–121). On curing among the Caquetíos Indians, see Oviedo, *Historia*, book 25,9. The passage from Pliny the Elder that Oviedo had in mind is in *Natural History*, book 30,1,1. See Claude Lévi-Strauss, “Le sorcier et sa magie,” in his *Anthropologie structurale* (Paris, 1974), 183–203. On Caribs, Arawak, and Aruacay, see Oviedo, *Historia*, book 24,3; 17. Arawak beliefs about their past and religion were recorded by Rodrigo Navarrete and Antonio Barbudo in “Relación de las provincias y naciones de los Indios . . . Aruacas,” in Antonio Arellano Moreno ed., *Relaciones geográficas de Venezuela* (Caracas, 1974), 84–85. Sir Walter Raleigh described his expedition to South America in *The Discoverie of the large, rich and beautiful empyre of Guiana, with a relation of the great and Golden Citie of Manoa (which the Spanyards call El Dorado)* (London, 1596, facsimile reprint Amsterdam, 1968). It appears with new contextual material in Neil Whitehead’s 1998 edition (Norman, Oklahoma). The quote appears on p. 63 of the 1596 original.

Reviewing the Past: Ethnography as History

Several relevant essays appear in *Native traditions in the postconquest world*, edited by Elizabeth H. Boone and Tom Cummins (Washington, 1998). In his *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* edited by J. V. Murra, R. Adorno, and J. Urioste (Madrid, 1987), Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala describes his view as to how the invasion did happen and how it ought to have happened (see especially 375 ff.). The *Relación de antigüedades deste reino del Perú* [1613] of Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui has recently been edited by César Itier (Cusco, 1993) and also by H. Urbano and A. Sánchez, in *Antigüedades del Perú* (Madrid, 1992); see on this text Regina Harrison, *Signs, songs, and memory in the Andes. Translating*

Quechua language and culture (Austin, 1989). Garcilaso Inca de la Vega discussed the invasion in his *Royal commentaries of the Incas and general history of Peru*, Part II, tr. H. Livermore (Austin, 1966), Book I, chapters 16–25. Book VIII, chapter 20 is about Viceroy Toledo’s return to Spain, for which see further Constance Classen, *Inca cosmology and the human body* (Salt Lake City, 1993), 120 ff. On the Spanish encounter with a “Lord” who is not named but evokes the Inka ruler, see Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, *La Argentina*, ed. E. de Gandia (Madrid, 1986), Book I, chapter 9. On contemporary Andean historical consciousness, see Joanne Rappaport, *Cumbe reborn. An Andean ethnography of history* (Chicago, 1994); see also Gonzalo Castillo-Cárdenas, *Liberation theology from below. The life and thought of Manuel Quintín Lame* (New York, 1987), with an English translation of Lame’s *Pensamientos*.

See Charles Gibson, “Conquest and so-called conquest in Spain and Spanish America,” *Terrae Incognitae. The Journal for the History of Discoveries* 12 (1980), 1–19 for a little-discussed aspect of the “debate” of the Indies. On laws of the Incas, see Juan de Betanzos, *Suma y narración de los Incas*, part I, chapter 21; Garcilaso, *Royal Commentaries*, Part I, book 2, chapters 11–15; book 4, chapters 10; 19, reviewing earlier accounts of Inka law. See also Guaman Poma, *Nueva Corónica* 182 ff.; Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Perú, origen y descendencia de los Incas*, ed. M. Ballesteros Gaibrois (Madrid, 1962), book 2, chapter 22. Murúa’s earlier *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Incas del Perú*, ed. C. Bayle (Madrid, 1946), Book 3, chapter 73 contains very similar information. For laws of Bogotá, see Lucas Fernández Piedrahita, *Historia del Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Bogotá, 1942), written in the 1640s, book 2, chapter 5. Diego González Holguín, *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú llamada Qquichua* (Lima [1608], 1952) illustrates on p. 552 that the Quechua semantic fields assembled under notions of justice do not coincide with Spanish ones.

On the creator among the Chibcha, consult Lucas Fernández Piedrahita, *Historia*, book I, chapter 3. Pedro Simón takes a more cautious view of Chibcha beliefs, although he did recognize a supreme deity in the indigenous religious traditions that he collected. See his *Noticias históricas de las conquistas de tierra firme en las Indias occidentales. Segunda parte* (Bogotá, 1891, completed before c. 1625) segunda noticia, chapter 3. A helpful collection of original sources with commentaries about Wira Qucha is by Henrique Urbano, *Wiracocha y Ayar. Héroes y funciones en las sociedades andinas* (Cusco, 1981). On Pacha Kamaq interpreted as the

Christian god, see Garcilaso Inca de la Vega, *Royal commentaries*, Part I, book 2, chapter 2. On the Andean apostle, in his incarnation as Tunupa, see Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte* (La Paz, 1980). André Thévet's chapter about the Tupí creator and related matters is reproduced in Métraux' *La religion des Tupinamba*, p. 225 ff. On the Tupí creator and Tupí shamans, see Jean de Léry, *Voyage*, chapter 16; Claude d'Abbeville, *Histoire*, chapters II; 52; Yves d'Évreux, *Voyage*, Part I, 8–9; Part II, chapters 15–17. The passage here cited is in chapter 15.

On continuing indigenous religious practice during colonial times, see Pierre Duviols' now-classic work *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial. 'L'extirpation de l'idolâtrie' entre 1532 et 1660* (Lima, 1971). Kenneth Mills offers an English treatment in *Idolatory and its enemies* (Princeton, 1997). Francisco Poma's testimony comes from Pierre Duviols ed., *Cultura andina y represión. Procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo, siglo XVII* (Cusco, 1986), 188–189. For the study of documents of this kind, see Carlo Ginzburg, "The inquisitor as anthropologist," in his *Clues, myths, and the historical method* (Baltimore, 1989), 156–164; 220–222; Armando Guevara-Gil and Frank Salomon, "A 'personal visit': Colonial political ritual and the making of Indians in the Andes," *Colonial Latin American Review* 3, 1–2 (1994), 3–36. On Andean women filling sacred functions, see Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, sun and witches. Gender ideologies and class in Inca and colonial Peru* (Princeton, 1987). Further documentation of Andean "idolatory" has been published by Ana Sánchez in *Amancebados, hechiceros y rebeldes (Chancay, siglo XVII)* (Cusco, 1991). See also the collection of essays, edited by Gabriela Ramos and Henrique Urbano, *Catolicismo y extirpación de idolatrías, siglos XVI–XVIII* (Cusco, 1993), which includes (205 ff.) Pedro Guilovich Pérez's study of a noted "extirpator's" library. For Peru before the Inkas according to Fernando de Montesinos, see his *Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú . . . seguidas de las informaciones acerca del señorío de los Incas hechas por mandado de D. Francisco de Toledo* (Madrid, 1882). On the ages of the world in Guaman Poma, Jan Szeimiński, "Las Generaciones del mundo según Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," *Historica* 7 (Lima, 1983), 69–110. On Benito Arias Montano, who thought that Peru was the Ophir of the Hebrew Bible (a problematic view, even then; the texts being discussed were I Kings 9, 28; 10, 11), see Ben Rekers, *Arias Montano* (Madrid, 1973). Gregorio García, an acquaintance of Garcilaso Inca de la Vega, wrote an exhaustive treatise speculating about the origin of the Indians, *Origen de los indios de el nuevo mundo e indias occidentales*

(Valencia, 1607); the expanded version (Madrid, 1729) was reprinted with an introduction by Franklin Pease (México D. F., 1981); Diego Andrés de Rocha, *El origen de los indios* (Lima 1681, Madrid, 1988) returned to the same issue. "Indian" origins interested Jews of Amsterdam: see Menasseh Ben Israel, *Origen de los americanos, esto es, esperanza de Israel* (Amsterdam, 1650). A French translation with introduction by Henri Mechoulan and Gerard Nahon is *Ésperance d'Israel* (Paris, 1979). José de Acosta was the first to argue that the Indians reached America from Asia, in *Historia natural y moral de las indias* (Seville, 1590; México D. F., 1962), Book I, chapter 16. Elias Bickermann discussed Greek theories about the origins of nations that remained influential until the eighteenth century, in "Origines gentium," *Classical Philology* 47 (1952), 65–81. See also D. C. Allen, *The legend of Noah. Renaissance rationalism in art, science and letters* (Urbana, 1949) on what was at stake, from a European point of view, in biblical-historical theories about the origin of Indians.

For writing in the seventeenth-century Andes, see Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, *The Huarochiri manuscript. A testament of ancient and colonial Andean religion* (Austin, 1991), with excellent introduction; the translation of the passage here cited is at 40–41. For correlations between Andean and biblical events, see chapter 3, p. 52, and chapter 4, p. 53. Also relevant is Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma. Writing and resistance in colonial Peru* (Austin, 1986); see as well her "Literary production and suppression: reading and writing about Amerindians in colonial Spanish America," *Dispositivo* II (1988), 1–25. For Guaman Poma's ages of the world, see his *Crónica* 12 ff.; for his pictures of European writing on a sheet of paper or in a book, going hand in hand with *khipus*, see *Crónica* 202, 800. Essays collected in *Guaman Poma de Ayala. The colonial art of an Andean author* (New York, 1992) assemble new materials relevant to the interpretation of Guaman Poma's text and images. See also E. H. Boone and W. D. Mignolo eds., *Writing without words. Alternative literacy in Mesoamerica and the Andes* (Durham, 1994).

On the lord of Guatavita and his inauguration ceremony, with passage quoted, see Juan Rodríguez Freyle, *Conquista y descubrimiento del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, ed. Jaime Delgado (Madrid, 1986), book I, chapter 2. But note that Pedro Simón (*Noticias Historiales . . . Segunda parte*, segunda noticia, especially chapter 10) and Lucas Fernández Piedrahita (*Historia general*, book I, chapter 5) give very different accounts of the indigenous politics of Bogotá and Tunja. Antonio de la Calancha describes the site of "Pachacámac" in *Corónica moralizada*, book 2, chapter

19; see also book 2, chapter 4 on Tiahuanaco, which Calancha had also visited; book 3, and chapter 1 on the valley of Pacasmayo in Northern Peru. For Tiahuanaco, see Alonso Ramos Gavilán's 1621 *Historia del Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* (Lima, 1988). Waldemar Espinoza Soriano comments on "Alonso Ramos Gavilán. Vida y obra del cronista de Copacabana" in *Historia y Cultura* 6 (Lima, 1972), 121-194. On Sacsayhuaman built by giants, see Antonio León Pinelo, *El Paraíso en el nuevo mundo* ed. Raúl Porras Barrenechea (Lima, 1943), book 2, chapter 15; book 2, chapter 11 assembles much of the earlier material to the effect that giants lived in the Americas before the flood. Cieza visited Chavín and Tiahuanaco; while realizing that these were not Inka sites, he was unable to learn more. See his *Crónica del Perú. Primera Parte*, chapter 87, on Chavín, and chapter 105, on Tiahuanaco.

Cornille de Pauw wrote the article on "Amérique" in Supplement I of Diderot's *Encyclopédie où dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers pour une société de gens de lettres* (Amsterdam, 1776). Reviewing eighteenth-century literature about the indigenous peoples of the Americas, he found that Indians of the Amazon existed "in an eternal childhood;" even in Inka Peru, social life had made "only a certain feeble progress." Altogether, he found American humanity retarded behind Europeans by 3,000 years. But see also, on François Lafitau and his context, S. MacCormack, "Limits of understanding: Perceptions of Greco-Roman and Amerindian paganism in early modern Europe," in K. O. Kupperman ed., *America in European consciousness, 1493-1750* (Chapel Hill, 1994), 79-129. Juan de Velasco, in his 1789 *Historia del reino de Quito en la América meridional*, referred to Jacinto Collahuazo, native lord of Ibarra, as one of his most important authorities; see the edition by Aurelio Espinosa Pólit (2 vols., Puebla, 1960). For earlier references to the importance of indigenous authorities, see Garcilaso Inca de la Vega, *Royal commentaries*, Book 1, chapters 15-17; Guaman Poma, *Nueva Corónica*, 883 ff. Pedro Simón also used indigenous sources. See, for example, *Noticias historiales. Segunda parte* segunda noticia, chapters 10 ff.

On indigenous political movements in the Andes, see the documentation assembled in ed. C. D. Valcárcel, *La Rebelión de Túpac Amaru* vols. 2-3 (Lima, 1971-1972); J. H. Rowe, "Genealogía y rebelión en el siglo XVIII," *Revista Histórica* 33 (Lima, 1981-1982), 317-336; Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, *Rebellions and revolts in eighteenth century Peru and Upper Peru* (Cologne, 1985); Alberto Flores Galindo, *La utopía tupamar-*

ista (Lima, 1983); Segundo E. Moreno Yáñez, *Sublevaciones indígenas en la audiencia de Quito. Desde comienzos del siglo XVIII hasta fines de la Colonia* (Quito, 1985); Alonso Zarzar, *Apo Capac Huayna, Jesús Sacramentado. Mito, utopía y milenarismo en el pensamiento de Juan Santos Atahualpa* (Centro Amazonico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica, Lima, 1989).